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第六辑

EURASIAN STUDIES

余太山 李锦绣 主 编

梅维恒(Victor H. Mair) 芮传明 特邀主编

中华书局



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谨以此辑纪念翁独健先生(1906—1986)诞辰一百周年

TO THE MEMORY OF PROF. WENG DUJIAN

本学刊出版得到梅维恒教授(Prof. Victor H. Mair)
及中国社会科学院重点学科建设项目经费资助



《欧亚学刊》第6辑

古代内陆欧亚与中国文化国际学术研讨会论文集(上)

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试论中国早期“胡”概念之渊源

陈 健 文

“胡”在中国历史上是个相当重要的异族观念,在语意上特别专指中国北方及西北方的异族。长期以来,有关胡、汉之间的互动,以及胡文化对中国文化的影响,一直是东西方历史学界共同关注的焦点。本文尝试从西周至汉代的文献去探索中国“胡”概念的早期型态,分析“胡”字所指的对象及文化内涵。“胡”字在战国之世开始用来描述北疆异族,在此之前,虽然有学者认为西周金文中的“𠂔”字即是“胡”^[1],但此时期的“胡”是否就是后来在战国之世活跃于中国北方的胡人,目前尚难成为定论^[2]。从早期文献上来看,胡有两种指涉,一是作为北疆异族的新称号;另一种是做为一种地域概念,指的是胡人所居,或为胡人所控制之地域。

一 “胡”字作为北疆异族名称之始

胡的名称,内田吟风认为始于春秋末战国初^[3]。《逸周书·王会篇》中曾提到有“东胡”及“豹胡”之族称^[4]。不过《逸周书》的成书年代当是战国时期^[5],因此胡字的出现不应因此而提前。春秋时代,中国称外族之见经传者,曰戎狄蛮夷而已,至于春秋之末,战国以降,胡字之引用始多^[6],于是胡与匈奴之名,始见于战国之世^[7],这在早期文献中已很清楚。如:

《周礼·冬官考工记第六》:“胡之无弓车也,非无弓车也,夫人而能为弓车也。”^[8]

《战国策·燕策一》:“苏秦将为从,北说燕文侯曰:‘燕东有朝鲜、辽东,北有林胡、楼烦。’”^[9]

《战国策·齐策五》:“昔者,齐、燕战于桓之曲,燕不胜,十万之众尽,胡人袭燕楼烦数县,取其牛马。夫胡之与齐非素亲也,而用兵又非约质而谋燕也,然而甚于相趋者,何也?”^[10]

由以上史料可以看出,自战国时代起,“胡”字逐渐出现于史籍,虽然上引的史料如《战国策》、《周礼》有经汉人整理过的痕迹^[11],但至少已表明了至迟战国中期起,“胡”字已开始

用于称呼北疆的游牧民族。而一开始,它似乎并非是个专称,在某些民族的族名词尾也有胡字,因为如前引的“东胡”、“貉胡”、“林胡”等皆有胡字,甚至《战国策·赵策二》中还出现了“参胡”及“以攘诸胡”^[12](此二语亦见《史记·赵世家》)的字句,说明了当时的胡似不只一种。

值得探究的是,历史上著名的赵武灵王“胡服骑射”事件,其所谓“胡服”的“胡”,究系指那一种胡?此问题以往学界似未深究。一如顾炎武所考,胡字一开始的意思主要有三:一取象于牛胡;二为寿考之称;三与“何”字同义。为何称北疆民族为胡?他认为:

《史记·匈奴传》曰:晋北有林胡、楼烦之戎,燕北有东胡、山戎。盖必时人因此名戎为胡,而下文遂曰:筑长城以拒胡。是以二国之人而概北方之种,一时之号而蒙千载之呼也,盖北狄之名胡,自此始。^[13]

顾炎武所言之“二国之人”似应为“林胡”及“东胡”,言下之意“胡”字的来源是出自于此二者。但问题出在此二者之名皆以胡字为词核,胡字之意义为何?仍未得到解决。

“胡”字第一次在没有连用的情况单独出现,较可考者应是前引《战国策·齐策五》之“昔者,齐、燕战于桓之曲,燕不胜,十万之众尽,胡人袭燕、楼烦数县。”^[14]燕、齐此次的“桓之战”,据徐中舒考订实即发生在燕昭王二十年(公元前295年)时的“权之战”^[15](见《战国策·齐策二》)。因此“胡人”及“胡”字可能在此之后已有单独使用的情形发生。不过考虑到《战国策》系西汉刘向所掇辑而成,其用词不免有刘向之“习用语”成分,此处可持保留态度。

《史记·赵世家》曾记载了赵武灵王的一些对话:

召楼缓谋曰:“我先王因世之变,以长南藩之地,属阻漳、滏之险,立长城,又取藺、郭狼,败林人于荏,而功未遂。今中山在我腹心,北有燕,东有胡,西有林胡、楼烦、秦、韩之边,……吾欲胡服。”……于是肥义侍,王曰:“藺、襄主之烈,计胡、翟之利。……今吾欲继襄主之迹,开胡、翟之乡,而卒世不见也。”……王曰:“世有顺我者,胡服之功未可知也。虽驱世以笑我,胡地中山吾必有之。”于是遂胡服矣。^[16]

这些对话中有两点值得注意:其一,东有胡的“胡”是否为东胡?其二,林人与林胡是否指的是同一个民族?之前提到,在《战国策·赵策二》及《史记·赵世家》都曾提到“三胡”的名称。对此,《索隐》注:“林胡、楼烦、东胡,三胡也。”此三胡名称出现于匈奴之前,顾炎武似据此认为胡字的用法是始自于此三者。

二 东胡与胡之关系

关于东胡之名的来源,《史记·匈奴列传》中曾提到:

当是之时,……而晋北有林胡、楼烦之戎,燕北有东胡、山戎。

《索隐》引服虔云:“东胡,乌丸之先,后为鲜卑。在匈奴东,故曰东胡。”^[17]

服虔为东汉末年时人,去古未远,其说当有一定程度的可靠性^[18]。若依服虔的解释,则“胡”字为名词,“东”为形容词^[19]。吕思勉曾指出:“然则东胡者,吾国人施匈奴之名以名之,而加一方位以为别,犹称西域诸国曰西胡尔,非译名也。”^[20]显然东胡之名是先由于有一个名为“胡”的国家或民族的存在,而该族则因位居“胡”之东方,乃得“东胡”之号。韩嘉谷先生认为:东胡是一支在被齐桓公征伐过的山戎土地上崛起的一个新部落同盟,其联合了山戎、孤竹诸部之遗民,和西部的胡人(白狄)部落并峙东西。对于这样一个新的集团,用其中原先任何一个部族的名称都不适合,于是采用了相对于西部胡人部落的名字,被称作东胡,服虔的说法正是此意^[21]。然也有人认为战国时东胡非指一族,实际上是北方少数民族总称^[22]。至于东胡的位置,《山海经·海内西经》云:“东胡在大泽东。”《广韵》引《前燕录》云:“昔高辛氏游于海滨,留少子厌越以居北夷,邑于紫蒙之野,号曰东胡。”^[23]有学者认为此大泽即达赉诺尔(呼伦湖),说明东胡的活动地域在今呼伦湖以东^[24]。东胡是否可以等同于胡,之前学界似认为应无疑义。然若细读《史记》的相关记载,此种学界成说似值得商榷。

一般学会会普遍把东胡等同于胡,实出自《史记·匈奴列传》的一条记载:

其后有燕将秦开,为质于胡,胡甚信之。归而袭破走东胡,东胡却千余里。与荆轲刺秦王秦武阳者,开之孙也。燕亦筑长城,自造阳至襄平,置上谷、渔阳、右北平、辽西、辽东郡以拒胡。当是之时,冠带战国七,而三国边于匈奴^[25]。

学者在阅读此段史料时,通常都直觉解读为:秦开早先是在东胡当人质,归国后反而袭破东胡,令其退却千余里^[26]。但我们也可尝试做以下的这种解读:秦开先是在“胡”这个国家当人质,后来可能是在那边学习了较为先进的骑射战术,因此归国后马上运用此新战技,一举击败了宿敌东胡。手冢隆义曾指出:当时东胡、胡、燕为并立的三股势力,但东胡最强。因秦开甚为胡人所信,故燕的击破东胡,乃是胡人在其背后直接或间接支持的结果^[27]。此种解读似乎更具合理性,因为从前后文来看,后来燕国也筑了长城而拒“胡”,显示燕国与胡仍然毗邻,这个胡是哪个国家呢?引文最后一段明白告诉我们燕、赵、秦三个冠带之国是“边于匈奴”。

要做这样的解释,必须先证明燕国当时确有可能同时与胡、东胡这两个国家接壤。而考燕国之疆域,《战国策·燕策一》云:“燕东有朝鲜、辽东,北有林胡、楼烦,西有云中、九原,南有呼沱、易水,地方两千里。”^[28](《史记·苏秦列传》所载亦同)依据王恢先生的研究,“燕地初有今河北沧州以北,滦河以东河北之境。其后拓及察哈尔长城以南,东北有整个辽河流域,及于朝鲜平壤之境^[29]。”即约略是今河北北部,辽宁西南部,并兼有山西的东北隅^[30]。顾颉刚也指出燕原居赵之北境,凡九原、云中、雁门皆本燕地而赵夺之。主父致楼烦王之兵,

即是掠夺燕之藩属^[31]。故燕国的疆域确实与今内蒙古一带接壤,故当时秦开质留的“胡”,不能排除是楼烦、林胡甚至匈奴的可能性。又《说苑卷一·君道》:“燕昭王问于郭隗曰:‘寡人地狭人寡,齐人削取八城,匈奴驱驰楼烦之下。’”^[32]据此,当时匈奴确已逼近燕国边境之楼烦,故燕昭王出于外患忧虑乃有此语。由于秦开为质于胡的这件事似仅见于《史记》,因此缺乏其他的史料可与之比对。反观我们若仔细检阅《史记》其他的相关记载,便会不难发现在大部分的情况下,“胡”与“东胡”是二非一。公孙燕先生亦认为:“入汉以来,文献所载的大部分族称,都可以循明确指,其各自的族属、族源的关系不再像先秦那样难求明了。因此,在史汉书中不仅“胡”与“东胡”有明确分别;而且就是夫余、濊貉和乌桓、鲜卑诸称,也向不通用。”^[33]

《史记》中,仅《赵世家》有一例显示东胡被称为胡。即前引之“今中山在我腹心,北有燕,东有胡,西有林胡、楼烦、秦、韩之边”,该传稍后云:“自常山以至代、上党,东有燕、东胡之境,而西有楼烦、秦、韩之边。”^[34]除此之外,其余谈到东胡的部分从上下文的语境来看,并未有类似的东胡、胡交替使用之情况。如同样是《赵世家》“二十六年,取东胡欧代地”^[35],《廉颇蔺相如列传》所载“李牧多为奇阵,……破东胡,降林胡”^[36],《张释之冯唐列传》所指“当是之时,匈奴新大人朝,杀北地都尉印,上以胡寇为意,……,是以北逐单于,破东胡,灭淡林。”^[37]此处虽出现胡,但显指匈奴。虽然依《史记·匈奴列传》书写的语意来看,秦筑长城所拒之“胡”者似为义渠,赵筑长城所拒之“胡”者为林胡、楼烦,燕筑长城所拒之“胡”者为东胡或胡^[38]。看来似乎暗示义渠、林胡、东胡等三者皆为胡,而此三者又等同于匈奴。然而很明显的,匈奴并非等同于东胡、义渠与林胡,虽然此三者后来都有部分人民并入了匈奴,但不代表它们与匈奴是同一个民族。造成这种错乱的原因可能有二:一是在司马迁的认知中,此三者与匈奴为同一民族。但根据《史记》中其他部分的记载以及参照不同的史籍记录,此种可能性相当低。可能性较高的应是第二种情况,即胡字在战国晚期的使用仍未十分明确化,它可能有大部分的情况指的是某一族类,特别是北狄系的民族,但偶尔还是有指与北狄系民族相邻的其他族类情形出现。在像赵国北部这样一个多民族交错的地区,此种情况特别明显,因此《史记·赵世家》才会有“而襄王并戎取代以攘诸胡”^[39]的记载。

三 林胡、豹胡与胡之关连

与东胡相较之下,《史记·赵世家》中“林胡”与“胡”相等同的至少有二例:

(一)“二十年,王略中山地,至宁葭;西略胡地,至榆中,林胡王献马。……代相赵固主胡,致其兵。”^[40]此处的“胡”、“胡地”应为林胡无误。

(二)“主欲令子主治国,而身胡服将大夫西北略胡地,而欲从云中、九原直南袭秦。”^[41]

此处言“西北略胡地”，也应指林胡。

此外《史记·赵世家》中尚有一例“胡”，也极有可能指的是林胡。“二十一年，攻中山，赵祢为右军，许钧为左军，公子章为中军，王并将之，牛剪将车骑，赵希并将胡、代。”^[42]此处的“胡”，应也是已降于赵的林胡，故赵将才能领胡兵共击中山。因此若以胡名所指的对象来看，显然“胡”一开始指林胡的例子是高过于指东胡。

在李牧之世，匈奴与东胡、林胡等是并存的。《史记·廉颇蔺相如列传》：“李牧多为奇陈，张左右翼击之，大破杀匈奴十余万骑。灭襜褕，破东胡，降林胡，单于奔走。其后十余岁，匈奴不敢近赵边城。”^[43]此处将匈奴与东胡、林胡并列，足见三者部族之不同。值得注意者尚有“襜褕”这个部族。《史记·匈奴列传》曾提到：“而晋北有林胡、楼烦之戎”。《索隐》：“如淳云：‘林胡即儋林，为李牧所灭也。’”^[44]不过前述《李牧列传》中却将两者并列，显有矛盾。对此，马长寿认为“林胡”一词乃战国和汉代人士行文之简称，其原名当为“儋林”或“襜褕”。他举《史记》和《汉书·冯唐传》并云：“李牧北逐单于，破东胡，灭儋林。”的记载，认为《冯唐传》乃冯唐转述其祖父之词，当较《史记·李牧列传》所述较为可信。他又据《汉书·冯唐传》注引郑氏云：“匈奴传曰，晋北有澹林之胡，楼烦之戎也。”指出“林胡”实系“澹林之胡”之简称。而“澹林”、“襜褕”、“狄历”又同初一语源，皆由“Türk”一语翻译而来，即“澹”、“褕（按：应为澹）”、“狄”都是“Tu-”的对音，而“林”、“褕”、“历”都是“-rk”的对音，因此林胡为北狄或北狄之一种应无可疑^[45]。徐中舒的看法与马长寿类似，他认为林胡之林本应读如儋林二音，仍为狄历、丁令之异译^[46]。省称林胡者，既译其音，兼明其义，襜褕亦为儋林之异译。顿嵩元还指出另两种有关何谓林胡的说法。一是《资治通鉴》注曰：“余谓此胡种落依阻林薄，因曰林胡。”二是《尔雅·释地》曰：“邑外谓之郊，郊外谓之牧，牧外谓之野，野外谓之林。”是以“林”即野外之称。故林胡可解释为“离中国（中原）远方的野外之胡人”。^[47]小川琢治更进一步指出淡林或与《汉书·地理志》云中郡之“桢陵”通音，林胡或与《左传·襄公十四年》所提到的“械林”及《山海经·海内北经》的“林氏国”有关，从现今仍存的地名“榆林”来看，此区之前应有明显之森林，这可能是林戎、林胡等族名之由来^[48]。

林胡与楼烦一开始是被称为“戎”而非“胡”（见前引《史记·匈奴列传》），楼烦之东境似达到今河北西北部，即燕楼烦数县之地。其中部在今晋西北一带。其西部则包括今内蒙的南部，即今伊克昭盟一带^[49]。从历史上看，一个新族称出现，往往旧称尚在^[50]，因此司马迁的这种叙述包含两种可能性：一是林胡、楼烦之前是族类是属于“戎”的；另一种可能性是在司马迁的观念中，戎与胡的概念几乎相同。目前我们尚无法判断司马迁对戎狄的叙述中，哪些是属于先秦时期的习惯用语，哪些是汉代的用语，因为司马迁很可能在不觉中，用汉代的观念习用语去描述先秦时期的族类，这就造成后人研究时极大的困扰。不过楼烦与匈奴似非同族，前引《说苑》卷一《君道》有“匈奴驱驰楼烦之下”^[51]一语，可见楼烦与匈奴在战国

末实为二国。

《逸周书》中还提到了“豹胡”。《逸周书·王会·伊尹朝献篇》：

正北空同、大夏、莎车、姑他、旦略、貌(豹)胡、代翟、匈奴、楼烦、月氏、獫狁、其龙、东胡，请令以橐驼、白玉、野马、驹騊、馱驷良弓为献。^[52]

孙诒让以为“豹胡”疑为《墨子》卷四“非攻下”所提到的“不著何”^[53]，张博泉先生从孙诒让之说，认为豹、不；胡、何为一声之转^[54]。吕思勉亦认同豹胡亦即不屠何^[55]。但冯家升认为不屠何实即屠何，为东胡之别名^[56]。顾颉刚同意白鸟库吉之说，认为“不”字于乌拉阿尔泰语系中具有“都城”之义，商代之都曰亳，恐源于此^[57]。因豹胡留下的记载不多，学界目前似无进一步的研究。

四 早期中国文献中的胡、貉并举现象

当战国文献开始出现“胡”的记载之际，作为族名的“貉”(貉)便经常与胡字连用，这是一个值得注意的现象。

《荀子·强国篇第十六》：“今秦南乃有沙羡与俱，是乃江南也；北与胡、貉为邻。”^[58]

《墨子·兼爱中第十五》：“古者禹治天下，……洒为底柱，凿为龙门，以利燕、代、胡、貉与西河之民。……蛮夷丑貉，虽有周亲，不若仁人。”^[59]

《墨子·非攻中第十八》：“虽北者，且不一着何，其所以亡于燕、代、胡、貉之间者，亦以攻战也。”^[60]

《管子·小匡篇》：“擒狄王，败胡貉，破屠何，而骑寇始服。北伐山戎，制令支，斩孤竹而九夷始听，海滨诸侯莫不来服。西征，攘白狄之地，遂至于西河，……逾太行，与卑耳之貉，拘秦夏，而秦戎始从。”^[61]

《吕氏春秋·孝行览第二·义赏》：“民之讎之若性，戎、狄、胡、貉、巴、越之民是以，虽有厚赏严罚弗能禁。”^[62]

成书于汉代之《战国策》，也可见胡貉并举之例：

《战国策·秦策一》：“苏秦始将连横，说秦惠王曰：‘大王之国，西有巴、蜀、汉中之利，北有胡貉、代马之用。’”^[63]

貉与华夏接触的时间较早，西周时期周人即与貉有过接触。有关秽貉民族的史料，最早提到的怕要算金文里的“貉”，甲骨文里似找不到“貉”。在周金文中有“貉子卣”、“白貉卣”、“周貉簋”等器，虽未能断定其属于貉民族，但可能与貉民族有某种关系^[64]。关于貉族，古代亦称为“貉”。有学者认为貉族属北狄，有人认为应属夷人^[65]，高句丽亦属貉种^[66]。蒙文通曾主貉即山戎^[67]，也有学者认为貉是通古斯的一种^[68]。芮逸夫先生也曾指出在山东之

南滨海之处,当东周时尚有貉人^[69]。貉又作发,先秦时期有名为“北发”之族国,发与貉声近,可能是貉的异称^[70]。《左传·昭公九年》:“肃慎、燕、亳,吾北土也。”之“亳”,有学者认为也是貉之同音异写^[71]。另外陈硕甫《毛诗传疏》认为《诗经·大雅·韩奕》中有“其追其貉”一句,追、貉音相近,疑追即貉^[72]。有关“貉”的发音,文崇一认为所谓“秽”与“貉”,多半是华夏族人们的音译,其实貉之为貉,可能是一个部族的番号,其发音为“mai”^[73]。和田清认为貉发音为ばく^[74],许宪范先生亦认为“貉”音为“Bak”或“Baek”^[75]。韩国学者李丙焄认为,貉被古代日本人称作 koma,即是熊^[76]。也有人认为“貉”之本义是指一种野兽,这种野兽外形似狐,毛棕灰色^[77]。更有学者以为貉当即突厥文“Bökuli”之音省^[78]。

那珂通世则认为“貉”如“夷”,用来作为四夷的泛称,但此称在秦汉以后被滥用^[79]。三上次男认为胡貉之所以习用,可能是当时胡与貉的住地是在同一方向,而导致的一种概括性用法,同样的逻辑也可在“秽貉”、“韩秽”等习用词上发现^[80]。何光岳先生认为胡与貉亦是相邻而居的民族,故胡貉亦往往连称^[81]。貉原分布于今山陕至东北地区南部,西周时曾经为獫狁所逼而东迁^[82]。至春秋时,大部分涌入燕北及东北南部,形成燕国“北(外)追蛮貉”^[83]的形势^[84],舒大刚先生认为秽貉的第一次大迁徙,当发生在殷末周初。特别是燕人的扩张政策,促成了秽貉族的四散迁转。其北逃者,一支窜至燕国北方的燕山地区。其西迁者,趁殷朝初灭、河内空虚之机,迅速进抵今陕西北部地区。这部分貉族在西周中后期,由于獫狁和狄人的相继东进,一支被逼往北远徙河套地区和今山西北部,与后来的胡人杂处,史称“胡貉”^[85]。这在文献上颇有反映:

《诗经·大雅·韩奕》:“以先祖受命,因时百蛮,王锡韩侯,其追其貉,奄受北国,因以其伯。”郑笺注:“貉也,为獫狁所逼,稍稍东迁。”^[86]

从前举《诗经·大雅·韩奕》、《荀子·强国篇第十六》、《战国策·秦策一》等文献中可看出先秦时西河之地有貉族居之^[87],貉于西周时还曾一度在周人活动区域附近生活。文崇一先生指出,在汉初,中国的北疆(陕晋冀之北)以及黄渤海沿岸(包括朝鲜半岛)都有他们的足迹。西北的貉民,也许跟其他地区的貉一样,本来就住在那里^[88]。孙进己先生认为:记载秽、貉在西的资料和记载秽貉在东北的资料,两者是属于同一时间的。这些资料只能说明秽和貉的分布从西到东相当广阔,并不能证明秽貉是到春秋战国时才东迁。东胡、山戎和秽貉不是一族,顶多有可能在源流上有一定联系。秽貉语应属于蒙古语族,貉应和东胡、室韦等属同源,因此貉族有可能是从西向东迁徙,但东迁的时间却相当早^[89]。然也有学者不同意这种看法,认为貉一直生活在东北,并未扩张至西北地区^[90]。三品彰英则主张所谓貉族的东渐仅是文献上“貉”字用法的东扩,貉族本身并未东移^[91]。总之,自西周末至春秋初期,貉族已散居在北方各地,其大部分居住在河北近燕地域,另一部分则西迁至山西北部的西河一带^[92]。

《逸周书·夏官司马·职方氏》中有“四夷、八蛮、七闽、九貉，五戎、六狄”^[93]之语，可见貉之种类不少。而貉在战国时仍活跃于秦之北方，在“胡”字尚未成为北族名称时，“蛮貉”经常并举^[94]。如：

《论语·卫灵公》：“子曰：‘言忠信，行笃敬，虽蛮貉之邦，行矣。’”^[95]

《诗经·鲁颂·閟宫》：“淮夷蛮貉，及彼南夷，莫不率从。”^[96]

即使胡出现后，成书于汉代的文献仍不时提到貉族(国)：

《说苑》：“晋文公伐卫，……文公惧，还师而归。至国，而貉人攻其地。”^[97]

《周礼·秋官司寇·貉隶》：“貉隶，掌役服不氏，而养兽而教扰之，掌与兽言。”^[98]

《白虎通·卷三·礼乐》：“言夷狄者，举始终也。言蛮，举远也。言貉，举恶也。”^[99]

《说文·豸部》：“貉，豹属。出貉国。”^[100]

《说文·鱼部》：“鲜，鲜鱼也。出貉国。”^[101]

蒙文通认为在秦灭义渠之后，春秋时居北方之异族惟貉与狄^[102]。又《史记·赵世家》载：“襄子齐三日，亲自剖竹，有朱书曰：‘余将赐女林胡之地，……奄有河宗，至于休混诸貉。’”^[103]可见当时赵国之貉族集中在休混一带，故云“休混诸貉”。钱穆认为休混诸貉应在介休、离石一带，河汾之间，河宗盖指龙门以上^[104]，但何光岳先生认为休混即休屠泽，即今内蒙古额济纳旗北的居延海，貉人的一支曾向西北迁至此地^[105]。《说文·豸部》：“北方貉，豸种也。”^[106]则仍将貉至于北方。

五 胡与貉(貉)之关系

关于胡与貉之关系，究系两个不同的族群，抑或是同一个概念之不同泛称？学界有不同之看法。三品彰英指出：貉(貉)在先秦文献的用法中，是被惯用来作为北方民族之泛称，《周礼·夏官职方氏》中曾有“四夷、八蛮、七闽、九貉、五戎、六狄”的记载，是以貉的内部应含有多种族类，从胡或秽曾被称为“胡貉”、“秽貉”的用法来看，此二者当时都只是“貉”当中的一种^[107]。因此在“胡”出现之前，“貉”字曾是北族之泛称。吴荣曾先生认为：从春秋末到战国，北方游牧民族被称为胡，也可称为貉，或者是胡貉连称。战国时期胡与貉不仅常见，而且两者也可相通。但严格地说，戎狄和胡貉又是有差别的，如《周礼·职方氏》提到的各族，共有夷、蛮、闽、貉、戎、狄六种，可见貉和戎狄有区别。在《秋官》中有蛮隶、闽隶、夷隶、貉隶，惟不见有戎隶、狄隶。从此似反映出，戎狄已衰微，在王宫中服役的北方各族以貉族人为主，这和战国时的情况正相符合。貉人大致分布在今河北北部，辽宁和内蒙古东部以及西部、南部一带^[108]。

若依《诗经》及郑玄之说，貉之所以后来出现于东北，系受獬豸之压迫所致，而未迁之貉

族渐渐融入匈奴之中,故史书才以“胡貉”连称泛指北方的少数民族^[109]。林滢先生认为:胡和貉连举是在较晚的战国时代才出现的现象,是因为都处于北方而相提并论。此用法到汉代之所以更加流行,是因为中原的文人对北方各族缺乏实际知识,把一切北方民族都想象为同一经济类型和文化面貌的大族团。“胡貉”显然是说的匈奴,所以文中又把“胡貉”省称为“胡”^[110]。公孙燕先生也有类似的看法,他认为所谓的“胡貉”,实即胡族之属^[111]。吴荣曾先生也同意战国时的胡貉,是对北方畜牧民族的泛称。而胡貉包括了东胡、林胡、楼烦、匈奴^[112]。蒙文通更直指“胡”实为“貉”,盖因貉之族有林胡、东胡,而胡之名遂代貉而起^[113]。但也有人认为胡貉应该指的是东胡^[114],考古学者还进一步将貉族与东北亚系青铜文化联系在一起,推测分布在辽西与辽河平原以短茎组合柄形铜剑为特征的这支青铜文化系统,应是先秦时期貉人所创造的文化^[115]。

日人和田清的看法值得参考,他认为貉之地望在燕之北,即今热河方面。周初时,貉应延伸至热河更西方的山西北部、陕西东北一带。貉本来就在中国北方,划分今日中国北部平原与蒙古高原的山脉一带,以前充满着浓密的森林,貉有可能是通古斯系的森林住民,后来受到北中国的农业民族或蒙古游牧民族的压迫,一部分被屈服同化,一部分则退往满洲的山地。狄是在河南平原发展的中国人最先接触到之山地住民,随着狄的逐渐中国化,才又遇见在其背后的貉^[116]。河田清的意见与林滢先生的“戎狄非胡”说概念有相通之处,林滢先生举体质人类学上的材料,认为戎狄与后来的胡在人种上存在着不同的来源,戎狄与华夏之民相同,是东亚蒙古人种,而胡则属北亚蒙古人种^[117]。

貉与胡的关系同貉与戎狄的关系类似,可能与民族的接触及迁徙有关。日人小川裕人认为貉族在人种学上是以通古斯族为主而混入一些蒙古族的血液^[118],那波利贞曾主张中国人之所以将塞外人称作“胡”,是来自于先秦古国“虞国”,像蒲、薄、亳、虞、吴、傅、胡等,皆为同音之异译^[119],林滢先生亦认为貉、亳、蒲古音都是锋部唇音字,故可通假^[120]。亳若同于貉,则胡与貉之关系当更进一步。

小川裕人与王建新先生均指出:貉族的民族性近于富狩猎性、好战、喜寇抄的游牧民,应与西方的骑马民族有某种关系^[121]。胡可能如河田清所言,是生活于更接近外蒙古地区的族群,他们应是较早期进入游牧生活的北方人群,貉因与胡较早接触,习得某些游牧文化,华夏民族即是透过貉接触到了游牧文化的概念。后来貉因受到华夏或胡的压迫而逐渐愈往东迁徙,胡遂往南发展占据了代北一带原由貉族所盘据的地域,也因之与华夏诸国发生了直接接触的情况。最后貉族退出内蒙古东部,胡完全取代貉而成为北方游牧民族的代表,由汉初貉人曾发兵助汉一事来看(《汉书·高帝纪》:“北貉、燕人来致橐骑助汉。”^[122]),貉人退出中国北方转往东北,极可能是由于匈奴冒顿单于的扩张。从胡服与貉服之替代关系,可稍窥胡貉之兴替^[123]。

赵武灵王的胡服骑射,是中国史上一件学习外来文化的重要历史事件,自此中国华夏诸国开始将骑兵运用于战场^[124]。但是其所学习的胡服似非直接由胡人习得,而是透过貉族。

《水经·河水注》引《竹书纪年》:“魏襄王十七年,邯鄲命吏大夫奴迁于九原,又命将军、大夫、适子、戍吏皆貉服。”^[125]

蒙文通据此以为貉服即胡服,主胡人即貉人^[126]。吴荣曾先生认同此种看法,以为赵之胡服实习自与其毗邻的貉人^[127],王建新先生亦认为胡人与貉人都是骑马民族,从先秦文献经常提到貉人这点来看,中原人与貉人的接触频繁,战争也不少^[128]。《竹书纪年》之记载反映了这样一种可能性,即战国时赵武灵王下令改穿之服装实为貉服,只是后来貉的概念为胡所取代,故《史记》中司马迁才改“貉服”为“胡服”。因此早期中国对于胡之概念,有可能是经过了貉的过渡才逐渐成形的,其过程为:“貉”→“胡、貉”→“胡”。

六 “胡地”概念的出现

其次要厘清所谓的“胡地”是否有特定之范围。“胡”除了代表北族之外,同时也代表了某种地理概念。

《史记·赵世家》:“王曰:‘世有顺我者,胡服之功未可知也。虽驱世以笑我,胡地中山吾必有之。’于是遂胡服矣。”^[129]

在此文中,中山被称为“胡地”,若此,则显示白狄人被视为胡类。但也有不同的断句方式,如缪文远先生就将此句断为“胡地、中山吾必有之。”^[130]

《战国策·赵策二》:“肥义侍坐,曰:‘王虑世事之变,……计胡、狄之利乎?’王曰:‘……今吾欲继襄主,启胡、狄之乡。……’……自常山以至代、上党,东有燕、东胡之境,……变服骑射,以备燕、三胡、秦、韩之边,……以攘诸胡。”^[131]

匈奴在东汉应劭的眼中被归类于“狄”,《风俗通义·佚文·四夷》:“北方曰狄者,……其类有五:一曰月支,二曰濊貊,三曰匈奴,四曰单于,五曰白屋。”^[132]但此处将匈奴与单于并列,二者明是一非二,应劭将之明分为二类,未知何故。他还认为“胡”或“狄”都是山戎之别种,《风俗通义·佚文·四夷》:“胡者,谨案:《汉书》:‘山戎之别种也。’,又胡者,互也,言其被发左衽,言语赘币,事殊互也。殷时曰玁狁,改曰匈奴。楼烦,故楼烦胡地也。《春秋传》曰:‘狄本山戎之别种也,其后分居,号曰赤翟、白翟。’”^[133]应劭的看法似支持了这样的一种概念:即汉人认为胡地起初是指晋北靠燕山一带的地域。这是否暗示最先被称作“胡”的民族,就是活动于这附近的地域。从前引《墨子·兼爱中》与《墨子·非攻下》的记载中,屡将燕、代、胡、貉并举一事来看,暗示至迟在战国之世,当时华夏民族所接触的北疆异族主要活动于此。

下迄汉代,胡地仍与代相连出现:

《盐铁论·卷二·论儒》:“御史曰:‘……故马效千里,不必胡、代;士贵成功,不必文辞。’”^[134]

《盐铁论·卷七·取下》:“贤良曰:‘……衣轻暖、被美裘、处温室、载安车者,不知乘边城、飘胡、代、乡清风者之危寒也。’”^[135]

从文献上来看,所谓“胡地”,似概指代北及其邻近一带的地域,或者是北狄系民族活动的地方。“胡”、“代”常并举,代可能为狄,顾颉刚曾疑代即“狄”之转音^[136],陈盘也认为代亦曰“翟”,今山西大同、浑源皆古之代境^[137]。但《后汉书·西羌传》曾云:“赵亦灭代戎,即北戎也。”^[138]故代也有称为代戎的可能性^[139]。《史记·匈奴列传》云:“赵襄子逾句注而破并、代,以临胡貉。”^[140]此句注即今代县西北之雁门山,则并、代二地必在今雁门关以北^[141]。从这个记载来看,代之北似即胡貉之地。因此胡、代二字不仅指族名,尚还包含某种地域概念,即赵国北部边境一带。汉人将代列入胡地,可能与代地先前为群狄之居所有关,前述《史记·赵世家》中有“翟犬者,代之先者。”^[142]可以为证。《史记·赵世家》中三次提到“胡地”一词,但所指地域似乎不尽相同。其一是前引之“胡地中山”;其二是“二十年,王略中山地,至宁葭;西略胡地,至榆中,林胡王献马。”^[143]其三是“主欲令子主治国,而身胡服将大夫西北略胡地,而欲从云中、九原直南袭秦。”^[144]若依“胡地中山”的断句,中山国可被称为胡,中山本春秋时的鲜虞,为白狄之一^[145]。春秋时白狄主要分布于今陕西境内,而河北境内的鲜虞也被说成是白狄,吴荣曾认为两者并非一族,故杜预才会将鲜虞说成是“白狄别种”^[146],鲜虞之所以也被称为白狄,与商人尚白不无关系。因为鲜虞为子姓,是商人的后裔^[147]。第二例所“西略”的明显指的是林胡,但第三例言明是“西北略”,所指不详,但很可能也是林胡。司马迁的叙事笔法即使在同一列传中,其方位经常不是十分明显,如前引“赵世家”中的燕国,一下子在赵之北,一下子又在赵之东。又东汉应劭认为楼烦所在亦属胡地,《风俗通义·佚文·四夷》云:“故楼烦胡地也。”^[148]故胡地的概念,又与代、白狄所居处有关,即今日山西北部之内蒙古东部,甚至包含部分河北地区。当然不同的历史时期对地域的概念会有所不同,但胡地的概念一开始似指上述的区域。

七 胡地与胡犬

与胡地有关的尚有“胡狗”一词,此语出自《晏子春秋·内谏篇下·第二·景公藉重而狄多欲托晏子晏子谏第一》:

晏子曰:婴闻与君异,今夫胡貉戎狄之蓄狗也,多者十有余,寡者五六,然不相伤害。……今君举千钟爵禄,而妄投之于左右,左右争之,甚于胡狗,而公不知也。^[149]

又《马王堆汉墓帛书》中的《战国纵横家书》二一“苏秦献书赵王章”：“此代马、胡狗不东，纶（仑）山之玉不出，此三葆（者），或非王之有也”^[150]。“胡狗”《史记·赵世家》作“胡犬”^[151]，又《战国策·赵策一》作“胡狗”，恐误^[152]。《逸周书》卷七《王会解》云：“渠叟以鼬犬。鼬犬者，露犬也，能飞，食虎豹。……匈奴（戎）狡犬。狡犬者，巨身，四足（尺）果，皆北向。”^[153]可见除匈奴贡犬外，渠搜亦产凶犬。“胡狗”或“胡犬”恐系胡地所产之野犬，《史记正义》引郭璞曰：“胡地野犬似狐而小”^[154]。此种犬只似名之为“犴”，《汉书·司马相如传》曾提到一种名为“犴”的动物，注引郭璞曰：“……犴，胡地野犬也，似狐而小。”^[155]《说文·豸部·犴》：“犴，胡地野狗。”^[156]又《说文·犬部·狡》：“狡，少犬也，从犬交声，匈奴地有狡犬，巨口而黑身。”^[157]郭璞之说应据此。但胡狗也有可能并非指胡地所产之特有种野犬，而是一种经由胡人训练后的猎犬。

古代北疆民族似以养犬著称于诸夏，在蒙古阴山岩画中，犬在狩猎场面中触目皆是，因为犬具有协助狩猎、放牧与防狼之功能，故古代北疆各少数民族莫不养犬、珍犬^[158]。文崇一另有不同看法，他认为貉人的狗是用来拉雪橇或者拖东西的^[159]。值得注意的是夏德（Hirth）曾提出“犬”为 Hün 或 Hun 另一种书写之假说，认为古史中之犬戎、吠夷、荤粥与即日后之匈奴有关^[160]，也有人认为塞种（Saka）一名的意义就是犬^[161]，马迦特甚至认为匈奴的古读若 kung-nu，应该是含有“犬”意义的一种别号，是从吐火罗语中假借而来的^[162]。而养犬及死后用犬殉葬同时也是东胡的习俗^[163]，甚至晚至明代的建州女真，都还将狗视为图腾^[164]。杨宽曾指出南方民族中盘瓠盘古之传说，乃出于《山海经·海内北经》中犬封（犬戎）传说之讹变^[165]。

除了大家所熟悉的犬戎外，狄在汉代亦被目为犬种，《说文·犬部·狄》：“北狄也，本犬种。”^[166]而赵国更有犬种之后的传说，《史记·赵世家》：

简子曰：“吾见儿在帝侧，帝属我一翟犬，曰‘及而子之长以赐之。’夫儿何谓以赐翟犬？”当道者曰：“儿，主君之子也。翟犬者，代之先也。主君之子且必有代。及主君之后嗣，且有革政而胡服，并二国于翟。”^[167]

顾颉刚据此认为代为翟族，而翟以犬为图腾，故曰犬戎^[168]。赵长期与诸狄比邻杂处，吸收犬种之传说^[169]不足为怪。徐中舒认为狄之为犬种，即系本其自称之词而名之^[170]。又先秦北族多以犬字偏旁命名，一般常认为乃是以蔑称之故，但白鸟库吉认为此种以犬旁命名的现象，可能多少与胡地产名犬有关^[171]。

八 “胡”与内陆欧亚游牧文化之关系

“胡”除了代表一种族群与地域概念之外，是否也有文化的意涵在内？是个值得探讨的

问题。从蛮夷戎狄到胡的出现,到底意味着什么变化?一般相信一个主要的变化是大约在西元前八、七到三世纪间,华夏西北及北方的一些民族或部落从狩猎或亦农亦牧,转而采取了以骑射游牧为主的生活方式^[172]。譬如有学者即认为:东胡之所以被中原文献称为“胡”,不仅仅因为它“在匈奴东”(《史记·匈奴列传》索隐引服虔语^[173]),更重要的是它应具备与胡人相同的经济型态——“其畜之所多,则马、牛、羊”,“其俗,宽则随畜,因射猎禽兽为生业”(《史记·匈奴列传》语)^[174]。在文献上,较明确与胡有关的文化概念是“胡服”与“骑射”。《史记·赵世家》:

今吾欲继襄主之迹,开于胡、翟之乡,……今吾将胡服骑射以教百姓,……于是始出胡服令也。……遂胡服招骑射。^[175]

有关胡服,邢义田先生已做过详尽之研究,认为与斯基泰文化有关^[176],而骑射则明显是游牧文化的特色。王明珂先生的研究指出:中国北方长城地带的混合经济人群,由于地理上的接近,有可能从阿尔泰地区的游牧人群习得游牧的观念与技术,影响了鄂尔多斯及其邻近地区专化游牧业的产生^[177]。因此与胡有关的胡服、骑射等文化概念,看来与内陆欧亚草原游牧文化有关。赵襄子灭知伯后,以其头为饮器:

《战国策·赵策一》:“及晋分知氏,赵襄子最怨知伯,而将其头以为饮器。”^[178]

《吕氏春秋·孝行览·义赏》:“赵襄子……令张孟谈逾城潜行,与魏桓、韩康期而击知伯,断其头以为觥。”^[179]

这似乎是受斯基泰人(Scythians)习俗的影响,斯基泰—塞种(Saka)民族操一种伊朗语方言,人种上属欧罗巴人种,目前已无异议^[180]。希罗多德曾描述斯基泰人将他们最痛恨的敌人首级割下之后,把眉毛以下的部分锯掉,外面包牛皮或镀金之后,做为杯子使用^[181]。但也有反对的意见,如白鸟清认为欧亚大陆用头盖杯的习俗是以古代的藏族为中心,由此向东西方各族传播^[182];重松俊章也指出中国南方的乌浒人也有此习俗^[183]。故对此风俗是否必受斯基泰人之影响,仍存争议。不过即使如此,胡服^[184]与骑射^[185]与内陆欧亚草原文化有密切关系是很明显的,中国北方战国时代的北方青铜器,有部分曾受内陆欧亚草原文化,特别是阿尔泰一带早期游牧人的影响,也为考古学界所承认^[186]。我们发现先秦时期的一些人物图像,的确带有斯基泰—塞种人的特征,汉代的胡人造型,与斯基泰—塞种人有相当程度的一致性^[187],可见内陆欧亚草原文化与胡的概念之间的关系,的确值得密切关注,饶宗颐先生曾提示:自大流土以来,华与胡两种文化,接触自不寻常,未可等闲视之^[188]。但这个问题之复杂度已超出本文的能力范围,有待来日的深入研究。

九 结 论

从以上的分析可以得知,当“胡”字开始用来指称中国北疆的少数民族时,起先用法并不

十分明确,有几个以“胡”字为词核的名称如东胡、林胡、犬戎胡等族名已经出现。不过当胡字单独使用时,究系指的是何者?起码在《史记》的书写中,指涉林胡的比例是高于指涉东胡。总之,从文献上之观察可以看出,胡概念的出现与貉有密切的关系,早期胡地的概念在代北及其周围地区,林滢先生曾推测匈奴本体的大本营是在赵长城东段以北,这和《史记·匈奴列传》记载汉初“单于庭直代、云中”是相符的^[19],因此早期活动在这个地区的民族,应是后来“胡”概念之由来。

注 释

- [1]唐兰:《用青铜器铭文来研究西周史》,《文物》1976年6期,页31—39。
- [2]吴荣曾:《战国胡牂各族考》,收氏著:《先秦两汉史研究》,中华书局,1995年,页118。
- [3]内田吟风:《周代の蒙疆に就いて》,《东洋史研究》第4卷4—5号(1939年),页19。
- [4]黄怀信等撰、李学勤审定:《逸周书汇校集注》,上海古籍出版社,1995年,页980。
- [5]参见杨宽:《论〈逸周书〉》,《中华文史论丛》1989年1期,页13—14。
- [6]从周:《胡人考》,《正风半月刊》创刊号(1935年),页58。
- [7]李符桐:《边疆历史》,收入:《李符桐论著全集》,台北:学生书局,1992年,页58;吴荣曾:《中山国史试探》,收氏著:《先秦两汉史研究》,中华书局,1995年,页114。
- [8]《周礼注疏》,〔清〕阮元校刻《十三经注疏》,台北:艺文印书馆,1989年,页594。
- [9]《战国策》,台北:里仁书局,1983年,页1039。
- [10]《战国策》,页434。
- [11]参见安作璋主编:《中国古代史科学》,福建人民出版社,1998年,页137—138;瞿林东:《中国史学史纲》,北京出版社,1999年,页149—153;孙钦善:《中国古文献学史简编》,高等教育出版社,2001年,页36—77。
- [12]《战国策》,页657。
- [13]顾炎武:《日知录》,甘肃民族出版社,1997年,《胡咙》、《胡》条,页1413—1415。
- [14]《战国策·齐策五》,页434。
- [15]徐中舒:《论战国策的编写及有关苏秦诸问题》,收《徐中舒历史论文选辑》(下),中华书局,1998年,页1204—1205。原刊《历史研究》1964年1期。
- [16]《史记·赵世家》,点校本,页1806—1807。
- [17]《史记·匈奴列传》,页2883、2885。
- [18]但日人八木柴三郎不同意此说,他认为东胡实因位于赵国北部之东方而得名,服虔之说系后人之推量。见氏著:《环居渤海湾之古代民族(续·完)》,张传瑞译,《禹贡半月刊》第4卷12期(1936年),页25。冯家升则认为东胡必有其原音在,作东胡者其音译之一,东胡又作屠何,均由其原音所转译者,见氏著:《东北史中诸名称之解释》,《禹贡半月刊》第2卷第7期(1934年),页4。
- [19]凌纯声:《松花江下游的赫哲族》,中研院史语所,1934年,页9。

- [20] 吕思勉:《中国民族史》,中国大百科全书出版社,1987年,页79。
- [21] 韩嘉谷:《从军都山东周墓谈山戎、胡、东胡的考古学文化归属》,收内蒙古文物考古研究所编:《内蒙古文物考古文集》,中国大百科全书出版社,1994年,页344。
- [22] 李治亭主编:《东北通史》,中州古籍出版社,2003年,页78。
- [23] 袁珂校注:《山海经校注》,巴蜀书社,1993年,页343。
- [24] 程妮娜主编:《东北史》,页21。
- [25] 《史记·匈奴列传》,页2886。
- [26] 秦开之辟辽东究在何时,金毓黻认为当在周报王十五年(300 B. C)。参金毓黻:《东北通史》,台北:洪氏出版社,1976年,页102—103,张博泉等也持相同看法,参张博泉等著:《东北历代疆域史》,吉林人民出版社,1983年,页24;但王建新先生的推测是约在290B. C前后,参氏著:《东北アジアの青铜器文化》,东京:同成社,1999年,页211。
- [27] 手冢隆义:《匈奴勃兴试论》,《史苑》第31卷2号(1971年),页63—64。
- [28] 《战国策》,页1039。
- [29] 氏著:《中国历史地理》(下册),台北:学生书局,1984年,页709—710。
- [30] 王育民:《中国历史地理概论》(下册),人民教育出版社,1993年,页209。
- [31] 顾颉刚:《楼烦为燕属国,赵夺之》,《顾颉刚读书笔记》第五卷(下),台北:联经出版事业公司,年1990年,页3696。
- [32] 刘向撰、向宗鲁校证:《说苑》,中华书局,2000年,页16。
- [33] 公孙燕:《论濊貉之“貉”非东胡人——兼考汉初濊貉地望》,《考古》1962年10期,页549。
- [34] 《史记·赵世家》,页1809。
- [35] 《史记·赵世家》,页1821。
- [36] 《史记·廉颇蔺相如列传》,页2450。
- [37] 《史记·张释之冯唐列传》,页2758。
- [38] 《史记·匈奴列传》:“后百有余年,赵襄子逾句注而破并代以临胡貉。……宣太后诈而杀义渠戎王于甘泉,遂起兵伐残义渠,于是秦有陇西、北地、上郡,筑长城以拒胡。而赵武灵王亦变俗胡服,习骑射,北破林胡、楼烦,筑长城。……其后有燕将秦开,为质于胡,胡甚信之。归而袭破走东胡,东胡却千余里。与荆轲刺秦王秦武阳者,开之孙也。燕亦筑长城,自造阳至襄平,置上谷、渔阳、右北平、辽西、辽东郡以拒胡。当是之时,冠带战国七,而三国边于匈奴。”(页2285—2286)
- [39] 《史记·赵世家》,页1809。
- [40] 《史记·赵世家》,页1811。
- [41] 《史记·赵世家》,页1812。
- [42] 《史记·赵世家》,页1811。
- [43] 《史记·李牧列传》,页2450。
- [44] 《史记·匈奴列传》,页2885。
- [45] 马长寿:《北狄与匈奴》,三联书店,1962年,页19—20。

- [46]徐中舒:《北狄在前殷文化上之贡献——论殷墟青铜器与两轮大车之由来》,《今古论衡》第3期(1999年),页184—185。
- [47]顿嵩元:《中原胡姓与北方胡人考》,收刘乃和等编:《历史文献与民族文化研究》,高等教育出版社,1994年,页291。
- [48]小川琢治:《北支那先秦蕃族考》,收羽田亨编:《内藤博士还历祝贺 支那学论丛》,京都:弘文堂书房,1925年,页241—242。
- [49]吴荣曾:《战国胡貉各族考》,页122、125。
- [50]张博泉:《鲜卑新论》,吉林文史出版社,1993年,页27。
- [51]《说苑》,页16。
- [52]《逸周书汇校集注》,页980。
- [53]孙诒让:《墨子间诂》,中华书局,2001年,页134。
- [54]见氏著:《鲜卑新论》,页27;孙诒让说见氏著:《墨子间诂》,页124。同样认为屠何是东胡先世的,尚有李澍田主编:《中国东北通史》,吉林文史出版社,1993年,页67;以及程妮娜主编:《东北史》,吉林大学出版社,2001年,页21。但孙进己不同意此说,参氏著:《东北民族源流》,黑龙江人民出版社,1989年,页30。“不”字也有可能是发语词,例如“不令支”实即“令支”,参李学勤:《试论孤竹》,《社会科学战线》1983年2期,页203。
- [55]吕思勉:《中国民族史》,页56。
- [56]冯家升:《东北东北史中诸名称之解释》,《禹贡半月刊》第2卷第7期(1934年),页4。
- [57]顾颉刚:《“不”与“发”》,《顾颉刚读书笔记》第七卷(下),台北:联经出版事业公司,年1990年,页5638。
- [58]荀况撰,李涤生著:《荀子》,台北:学生书局,1981年,页352。
- [59]《墨子间诂》,页107—113。
- [60]《墨子间诂》,页134。
- [61]《管子校注》(新编诸子集成),中华书局,2004年,页425。
- [62]《吕氏春秋校释》,页779。
- [63]《战国策》,台北:里仁书局,1983年,页78。
- [64]文崇一:《秽貊民族及其文化》,收氏著:《中国古文化》,台北:东大图书公司,1990年,页270、304—305。
- [65]程妮娜主编:《东北史》,页23。
- [66]和田清:《周代の蛮貊について》,《东洋学报》第29卷3、4号(1944年),页317。
- [67]蒙文通:《周秦少数民族研究》,收氏著:《蒙文通文集》第二卷《古族甄微》,巴蜀书社,1993年,页146—147、153。
- [68]白鸟库吉主此说,参见三上次男:《古代东北アジア史研究》,东京:吉川弘文馆,1977年,页350。
- [69]芮逸夫:《韩国古代民族考略》,收氏著:《中国民族及其文化论稿》中册,台北:国立台湾大学人类学系出版,1989年,页632—633。

- [70]孙进己、王绵厚主编:《东北历史地理》(第一卷),黑龙江人民出版社,1989年,页194。貂与亳、发同之看法,亦见日人和田清:《周代の蛮貊について》,页321;李治亭主编:《东北通史》,页51。
- [71]佟冬主编:《中国东北史》,吉林文史出版社,1987年,页170—171。
- [72]李治亭主编:《东北通史》,页76。顾颉刚则主张所谓“其追其貂”的“追”,实即“代”,貉当时在中国正北,不知何时移至东北,参顾颉刚《句注北之并、代》,《顾颉刚读书笔记》第七卷(上),台北:联经出版事业公司,年1990年,页5142;也有学者认为“追”在古音韵学上与“秽”相通,参王建新:《东北アジアの青铜器文化》,页202。
- [73]文崇一:《秽貂民族及其文化》,页240。
- [74]和田清:《周代の蛮貊について》,页316。
- [75]许宪范:《秽貂迁徙考》,《民族研究》1985年4期,页36。
- [76]董万仑:《古代东方秽与貂研究的再反思》,《北方文物》1999年4期,页66。
- [77]李德山:《东北古民族与东夷渊源关系考论》,东北师范大学出版社,1996年,页141。
- [78]岑仲勉:《突厥集史》下册,中华书局,1958年,页892—893;张博泉:《〈魏书·豆莫娄传〉中的几个问题》,《黑龙江文物丛刊》1982年2期,页35。相近的看法亦见于日人岩佐精一郎,参护雅夫:《いわゆるBÖkuliについて》,收氏著:《古代トルク民族史研究》Ⅱ,东京:山川出版社,1992年,页136—138;小川裕人看法亦同,参见安藤德器编:《支那周边史》上卷,东京:白扬社,1943年,页114。
- [79]那珂通世:《貂人考》,收故那珂通世功绩纪念会编《那珂通世遗书》,东京:大日本图书株式会社,1916年,页85。
- [80]三上次男:《古代东北アジア史研究》,页360—361。
- [81]何光岳:《东夷源流史》,江西教育出版社,1992年,页460。
- [82]俞伟超先生认为:汉代并州以北在西周时曾是秽貂的分布地,参氏著:《夏家店下层与上层文化为两支东夷遗存》,收氏著:《古史的考古学探索》,文物出版社,2002年,页335。
- [83]《史记·燕召公世家》:“太史公曰:召公奭可谓仁矣!……,(北)(外)追蛮貂,内措齐、晋。”页1561—1562。
- [84]李澍田主编:《中国东北通史》,页69。
- [85]舒大刚:《春秋少数民族分布研究》,台北:文津出版社,1994年,页66—68。
- [86]《毛诗正义》(《十三经注疏》)[清]阮元校刻,台北:艺文印书馆,1989年,页683。
- [87]吕思勉:《貉族考》,《读史札记》,台北:木铎出版社翻版,1983年,页1228。
- [88]文崇一:《秽貂民族及其文化》,页234、267、270。
- [89]孙进己:《东北民族源流》,页119—123。
- [90]如吕思勉早先曾一度认为:“然貉自在东北方。其云北方,则浑言之耳。”参氏著:《中国民族史》,页116;林澹先生亦主张:“过去有的学者因为没有考察‘胡貉’连举的实际历史,便断言貉曾远布于西方,其实是不能成立的。”参氏著:《说‘貉’》,《史学集刊》1999年4期,页60。
- [91]三品彰英:《秽貂族小考——民族关系文献批判に因んで》,《朝鲜学报》第4辑(1953年),页12。
- [92]许宪范:《秽貂迁徙考》,页39。

- [93]《逸周书汇校集注》，页1041。
- [94]公孙燕：《论濊貉之“貉”非东胡人——兼考汉初濊貉地望》，页548。
- [95]《论语》（《十三经注疏》）〔清〕阮元校刻，台北：艺文印书馆，1989年，页137。
- [96]《诗经·鲁颂·閟宫》，页782。
- [97]《说苑》，页341—342。
- [98]《周礼注疏》，页512。
- [99]《白虎通疏证》（新编诸子集成），中华书局，1997年，页111。
- [100]许慎撰、段玉裁注：《说文解字注》，台北：洪叶文化事业公司，2001年，页462。
- [101]《说文解字注》，页585。
- [102]蒙文通：《周秦少数民族研究》，页106。
- [103]《史记·赵世家》，页1794—1795。
- [104]钱穆：《史记地名考》，台北：作者自印，1984年，页470。
- [105]何光岳：《东夷源流史》，页460。
- [106]《说文解字注》，页463。
- [107]三品彰英：《秽貉族小考——民族关系文献批判に因んで》，页5—7；公孙燕先生亦同意貉为泛称之说，见氏著：《论濊貉之“貉”非东胡人——兼考汉初濊貉地望》，页548。
- [108]吴荣曾：《战国胡貉各族考》，页117—119。
- [109]程妮娜主编：《东北史》，页23。
- [110]林滢：《说“貉”》，页55—56。
- [111]公孙燕：《论濊貉之“貉”非东胡人——兼考汉初濊貉地望》，页548—549。
- [112]吴荣曾：《战国胡貉各族考》，页120—131；王建新先生看法亦同，参氏著：《东北アジアの青铜器文化》，页209。
- [113]蒙文通：《周秦少数民族研究》，页154。
- [114]孙进己：《东北民族源流》，页30。
- [115]王建新、刘瑞俊：《先秦时期的秽人与貉人》，《民族研究》2001年4期，页55—64。王建新：《东北亚系青铜剑分类研究》，《考古学报》2002年2期，页198；氏著：《东北アジアの青铜器文化》，页212。
- [116]和田清：《周代の蛮貊について》，页319—326。
- [117]林滢：《戎狄非胡论》，收吕绍纲编：《金景芳九五诞辰纪念文集》，吉林文史出版社，1996年，页101—108；氏著：《中国北方长城地带游牧文化带的形成过程》，《燕京学报》新14期，2003年，北京，页96—100。
- [118]参见安藤得器编：《支那周边史》上卷，页113。
- [119]那波利贞：《支那人が塞外人を胡人と总称する缘由に关する疑》，收羽田亨编：《内藤博士还历祝贺支那学论丛》，京都：弘文堂书房，1925年，页475—542。
- [120]林滢：《说“貉”》，页54。

- [121] 安藤得器编:《支那周边史上卷》,东京:白扬社,1943年,页113—114;王建新:《东北アジアの青铜器文化》,页207。
- [122] 《汉书·高帝纪》(点校本),页46。
- [123] 但王建新先生认为此处的北貉实为楼烦之误,王建新:《东北アジアの青铜器文化》,页209。
- [124] 有关中国骑射之起源,参拙著:《月氏民族及其与早期东西交通的关系》,台湾师范大学历史研究所硕士论文(1996年6月),页114—126。
- [125] 方诗铭、王修龄:《古本竹书纪年辑证》,台北:华世出版社翻版,1983年,页154。
- [126] 蒙文通:《周秦少数民族研究》,页154。
- [127] 吴荣曾:《战国胡貉各族考》,页117—131;赵云田主编之《北疆通史》看法亦同,参赵云田主编:《北疆通史》,中州古籍出版社,2003年,页42。
- [128] 王建新:《东北アジアの青铜器文化》,页207。
- [129] 《史记·赵世家》,页1807。
- [130] 缪文远:《赵武灵王胡服骑射考》,收王仲荦主编:《历史论丛》第二辑,齐鲁书社,1981年,页223。
- [131] 《战国策》,页657。
- [132] 《风俗通义校注》,台北:汉京文化事业公司翻版,1983年,页488。
- [133] 《风俗通义校注》,页489。
- [134] 《盐铁论校注》(新编诸子集成),中华书局,1992年,页150。
- [135] 《盐铁论校注》,页463。
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- [138] 《后汉书·西羌传》(点校本),页2874。
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- [140] 《史记·匈奴列传》,页2885。
- [141] 顾颉刚:《句注北之并、代》,《顾颉刚读书笔记》第七卷(上),台北:联经出版事业公司,年1990年,页5142。
- [142] 《史记·赵世家》,页1788。
- [143] 《史记·赵世家》,页1811。
- [144] 《史记·赵世家》,页1812。
- [145] 刘来成:《从考古材料看历史上的鲜虞和中山》,收河北省文物研究所编:《河北省考古文集》,东方出版社,1998年,页422—427。
- [146] 吴荣曾:《周代邻近于燕的子姓邦国》,页63、65。
- [147] 吴荣曾:《中山国史试探》,收氏著:《先秦两汉史研究》,中华书局,1995年,页114。但他认为战国时人并没有把狄和胡貉合在一起,显与《史记·赵世家》的记载矛盾。

- [148]《风俗通义校注》，页489。
- [149]《晏子春秋·内谏篇下》第二《景公藉重而狱多欲托晏子晏子谏第一》，页96。
- [150]马王堆汉墓帛书整理小组：《马王堆汉墓帛书（参）》，文物出版社，1983年，页68。
- [151]《史记·赵世家》，页1818。
- [152]马王堆汉墓帛书整理小组：《马王堆汉墓帛书（参）》，页69注二一。
- [153]《逸周书汇校集注》，页909、947。
- [154]《史记·赵世家》，页1818。
- [155]《汉书·司马相如传》，页2538。
- [156]《说文解字注》，页462。
- [157]《说文解字注》，页478。
- [158]盖山林：《犬岩画·犬·犬祭》，《北方文物》1989年3期，页58—63、90。
- [159]文崇一：《秽貊民族及其文化》，页281。
- [160]Friedrich Hirth, *The Ancient History of China*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1923, p. 68.
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- [164]于学斌：《北方渔猎民族养狗使狗的文化阐释》，《北方文物》2004年1期，页68。
- [165]杨宽：《中国上古史导论》，收顾颉刚编：《古史辨》第七册，台北：蓝灯文化事业公司，1987年，页156—175。
- [166]《说文解字注》，页481。
- [167]《史记·赵世家》，页1787。
- [168]顾颉刚：《犬图腾诸民族》，《顾颉刚读书笔记》第五卷（下），台北：联经出版事业公司，1990年，页3989—3990。
- [169]不仅中国北方，古代的伊朗也有犬传说。依祆教的丧葬仪式，死后尸体由狗吃掉，然后把剩下的头骨放在骨瓮（Ossuary）中埋起来，而狗凝视尸体，称“犬视”（sagdid）。参荣新江：《北朝隋唐粟特聚落的内部形态》，收氏著：《中古中国与外来文明》，三联书店，2001年，页153—154。另参井本英一：《古代イランの犬》，《オリエント》Vol. 12 no. 3—4（1969年），页1—22；阿里·玛扎海里 (Aly Mazahéri) 著，耿昇译：《丝绸之路——中国—波斯文化交流史》，页338、533—535。
- [170]徐中舒：《北狄在前殷文化上之贡献——论殷墟青铜器与两轮大车之由来》，页174。
- [171]白鸟库吉：《周代の戎狄に就いて》，《东洋学报》第14卷2号（1923年），页157。
- [172]邢义田：《古代中国及欧亚文献、图像与考古资料中的“胡人”外貌》，《国立台湾大学美术史研究集刊》第9期（2000年），页25—26。
- [173]《史记·匈奴列传》，页2885。

- [174]《史记·匈奴列传》，页2879；吉林大学边疆考古研究中心、内蒙古文物考古研究所：《2002年内蒙古林西县井沟子遗址西区墓葬发掘纪要》，《考古与文物》2004年1期，页17。
- [175]《史记·赵世家》，页1806—1811。
- [176]邢义田：《古代中国及欧亚文献、图像与考古资料中的“胡人”外貌》，页45—65。
- [177]王明珂：《鄂尔多斯及其邻近地区专业化游牧业的起源》，《史语所集刊》第65本第2分（1994年），页412、418。不过乌恩对此表示怀疑，见氏著：《欧亚大陆草原游牧文化的几点思考》，《考古学报》2002年4期，页463。
- [178]《战国策》，页579。
- [179]《吕氏春秋校释》，页781。
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- [181]Herodotus, trans by George Rawlinson, *The Persian Wars*, New York: The Modern Library, 1942, pp. 315—316.
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Horse Sacrifices and Sacred Groves among the North(west)ern⁽¹⁾ Peoples of East Asia

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Introduction

Even though the domesticated horse, especially for chariot traction and later for riding, was introduced to the East Asian Heartland (EAH) from abroad during the Bronze Age, the widespread practice of royal and aristocratic horse sacrifice in the EAH is conspicuous to anyone who examines the archeological and historical record. From Shang burials at Anyang to Zhou tombs in Loyang and the tombs of local rulers during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods⁽²⁾, the profligate use of horses for sacrificial purposes is inescapably evident. Clearly the horse meant a great deal to the elites of the EAH, and the consecration of fine victims to the deceased or to heaven was a mark of tremendous respect. For a settled, agricultural people, this obsession with equine oblation seems incongruous, since the horse is customarily associated with mobile, nomadic peoples. (Mair 2005a, 2003; Linduff 2003)

A full discussion of horse sacrifice in the EAH would require monographic treatment. The aim of this study is much more modest. Namely, we begin with a passage from the *Weishu* 《魏书》 (*History of the [Northern] Wei*), “Li zhi 礼志 (Treatise on Ritual),” *juan* 108A. Here we learn the important fact that the bodies of the victims were placed on a frame made from a birch tree. More detail containing these ceremonies is provided in a passage from *Hanshu* 《汉书》 (*History of the Western Han* [by Ban Gu 班固; 32–92 AD; completed after his death by his sister Ban Zhao 班昭; 48?–116?]), “Xiongnu zhuan 匈奴传 (Monograph on the Xiongnu),” *juan* 94A, which is also found in the *Shiji* 《史记》 (*The Grand Scribe's Records* [completed ca. 90 BC by Sima Qian 司马迁; ca. 145–86 BC]), “Xiongnu liezhuan 匈奴列传 (Monograph on the Xiongnu),” *juan* 50. The passage in question describes a yearly autumnal gathering of the Xiongnu at a sacred

grove in which rituals concerning horses and other domesticated animals took place. From commentaries by Fu Qian 服虔 (2nd c. CE) and Yan Shigu 颜师古 (579–645), we learn that these rituals involved sacrifice and, more importantly, that they were passed down centuries later to the Xianbei 鲜卑 (Särbi). Thus the Xianbei inherited at least some of the key traditions of the Xiongnu⁽³⁾.

Similar practices were continued among many Turkic, Mongolic, and other peoples in South Siberia, Inner Asia, and Central Asia during succeeding centuries up to the present time. But if we search for parallels to the Xiongnu-Xianbei custom of sacrifice of horses in sacred groves, the most plentiful earlier evidence is to be found among Indo-European (IE) peoples. There are many IE variants of related rites, but the closest to those carried out at the Xiongnu-Xianbei autumnal sacrifices is that in which the skin of the horse with head and hooves still attached is suspended from a pole or frame over the sacred site of the ritual or, more commonly, only the head and sometimes one or more hooves are deposited on a pole, on the ground, or in the burial chamber.

In this study, our focus is primarily on the disposition of the sacrificial victims. An adequate investigation of the sacrality of the associated trees and groves in which the horse sacrifices under consideration took place would require separate treatment.

Xiongnu and Xianbei Tree Worship and Equine Sacrifice

The standard dynastic histories provide clear records of the sacrificial practices of the Xiongnu and the Xianbei. We will begin with one instance pertaining to the latter:

魏先之居幽都也，凿石为祖宗之庙于乌洛侯国西北。自后南迁，其地隔远。真君中，乌洛侯国遣使朝献，云石庙如故，民常祈请，有神验焉。其岁，遣中书侍郎李敞诣石室，告祭天地，以皇祖先妣配。祝曰：“天子焘谨遣敞等用骏足、一元大武敢昭告于皇天之灵。自启辟之初，祐我皇祖，于彼土田。历载亿年，聿来南迁。惟祖惟父，光宅中原。克剪凶丑，拓定四边。冲人纂业，德声弗彰。岂谓幽遐，稽首来王。具知旧庙，弗毁弗亡。悠悠之怀，希仰余光。王业之兴，起自皇祖。绵绵瓜瓞，时惟多祜。敢以丕功，配飨于天。子子孙孙，福祿永延。”敞等既祭，斩桦木立之，以置牲体而还。后所立桦木生长成林，其民益神奉之。咸谓魏国感灵祇之应也。石室南距代京可四千余里。

When the ancestors of the Wei were living in Youdu⁽⁴⁾, they chiseled into the rock to make an ancestral temple northwest of the state of Wuluohu⁽⁵⁾. Afterwards, they mi-

grated to the south and were separated by a great distance from that land.

During the Zhenjun reign period (440–451), the state of Wuluohou sent an emissary to pay tribute at court, saying, “the stone temple is as of old. The people often pray there, and the spirits are efficacious.”

That same year, [the ruler of the Northern Wei] sent the Vice Director of the Secretariat, Li Chang, to visit the stone chamber, telling him to sacrifice to Heaven and Earth, and to match the august ancestor and ancestress with them. [Li Chang] exclaimed:

“The Son of Heaven, [Tuoba] Tao⁽⁶⁾, circumspectly commissioned Chang and others to use a fine horse and a fatted cow to make bold to inform the spirit of August Heaven. Since the beginning of the foundation [of our dynasty], they [i.e., the spirits of Heaven and Earth] have protected our august ancestors in that land. After passing through countless years, then it transpired that [our people] migrated to the south. Thus our ancestors and our fathers have dwelt gloriously in the Central Plains. They have eradicated evil and stabilized the four borders. [We,] the younger (i.e., brash) generations, have arrogated their enterprise, [so that] virtue and fame have not been made manifest.

“How can it be said that you are secluded and remote? Kowtowing, we come [to pay our respects] to the sovereign. We fully realize that the old temple has not been destroyed or demolished. With anxious longing, we hopefully look up to your lingering light. The flourishing of the royal enterprise begins from the august ancestors. Spreading continuously like melon vines, in time there is much blessing. We make bold to sacrifice to Heaven through your (i.e., our ancestors’) great accomplishments. May our sons and grandsons prosper forever.”

Having completed their sacrifice, Chang and the others cut down a birch tree and erected it [as a frame on which] to place the bodies of the victims, then they returned. Afterwards, the birch tree that they had erected grew into a grove worshipped all the more reverently. Everyone said that this was in response to the stimulation of the gods by the state of Wei. The stone chamber was more than four thousand tricents⁽⁷⁾ distant from Daijing (“Replacement Capital”) to the south⁽⁸⁾.

(*Wei shu*, *juan* 108A, pp. 2738–2739)

A passage from the “Xiongnu zhuan [Monograph on the Xiongnu]” in the *History of the Han*, *juan* 94A shows that the Xianbei sacrificial practice described above can be traced back to

the Xiongnu:

岁正月,诸长小会单于庭,祠。五月,大会龙城,祭其先、天地、鬼神。秋,马肥,大会蹏林,课较人畜计。

In the first month of the year, the elders had a small assembly in the shrine of the *chanyu's* court. In the fifth month they had a major assembly in Dragon City where they sacrificed to their forefathers, Heaven and Earth, the ghosts and spirits. In the autumn when the horses were fat, they had a great assembly at Surrounding (*dai* 蹏) Grove^[9] to make an accounting (*ji* 计) of the numbers of people and domesticated animals^[10].

(*Han shu*, *juan* 94A, p. 3752)

The commentaries accompanying this passage make clearer some of the details. Fu Qian explains: “蹏音带,匈奴秋社八月中皆会祭处也。” “*Dai* is pronounced dai. It is the place for sacrifice during the eighth month when all the Xiongnu have their autumnal community gathering.” (*Ibid.*) The early Tang commentator, Yan Shigu, explains more fully and explicitly:

蹏者,绕林木而祭也。鲜卑之俗,自古相传,秋天之祭,无林木者尚竖柳枝,众骑驰绕三周乃止。此其遗法。计者,人畜之数。

Dai means to circle around a grove of trees and sacrifice. The Xianbei custom was passed down from antiquity as an autumnal sacrifice. In places where there is no grove, they still erect a willow branch and gallop around it three^[11] times before stopping. This is their inherited practice. *Ji* (“calculate”) refers to the numbers of people and domesticated animals.

(*Ibid.*)

Censuses of animals and people, particularly in the autumn, have been common throughout Inner Asian history (e.g., among the Turks, Mongols, and Manchus). (Meserve 2005).

The importance for the Xiongnu of sacrifice in a grove (or around a single tree or pole or branch representing a tree when no grove is available) has been documented by Egami Namio (1948). It is significant that the Manchus, nearly two thousand years later, also felt the need to erect a willow branch (or to find, when possible, a grove of cypress or plant as many as 49 pine trees) as the locus for their sacrificial shrines. (Meng 1959: 314–5, 319–21) Tree cults are common among Inner Asian peoples; while the willow is especially popular, many other types of trees assume cult-status. (Han 1982: esp. 278–87; Meserve 2005) Thus, the kind of tree that serves as the focus of worship is not so important as the sheer fact of there being a tree.

To return to the sacrificial ritual with which we began, a brief account of the state of Wuluo-

hou 乌洛侯 (a minor tribe in the northern Greater Khingans [Da Xing'an 大兴安岭], said to be over 4,500 li [approximately 1,500 miles] distant from the Northern Wei capital [at that time Pingcheng 平城, in northern Shanxi]) in *Bei shi* 《北史》 (*History of the Northern Dynasties*) also mentions the ancestral cave of the Xianbei, but provides some details missing in the passage from the *Wei shu* translated above:

太武真君四年来朝,称其国西北有魏先帝旧墟石室,南北九十步,东西四十步,高七十尺,室有神灵,人多祈请。太武遣中书侍郎李敞告祭焉,刊祝文于石室之壁而还。

In the fourth year of the Zhenjun reign period of Emperor Taiwu (443), [a mission from the state of Wuluohou] came to have audience. They stated that northwest of their country there was an old, deserted stone chamber of the former rulers of the Wei. It measured 90 paces from north to south, 40 paces from east to west, and 70 *chi*⁽¹²⁾ (feet) in height. In the chamber there were spirits, and people often prayed to them. Taiwu sent the Vice Director of the Secretariat, Li Chang, on a mission to inform [the ancestors] and to carry out a sacrifice to them. After engraving the text of an invocation on the wall of the stone chamber, Li Chang returned.

(*Bei shi*, *juan* 94, p. 3132)

The historicity of the alleged ancestral cave and the invocation associated with it was dramatically attested in July of 1980 when archeologists discovered an inscription in the Gaxian Cave 嘎仙洞 at 50°38' north latitude and 123°38' east longitude. The Gaxian Cave is approximately three miles (ten kilometers) northwest of the administrative center (Alihe Town) of the Oroqen Autonomous Banner, which is located in the northeastern corner of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Oroqen is probably a derived form of Wuluohou (Middle Sinitic pronunciation *uo-lak-γəu), which further underscores the deep continuity of the cultic and sacrificial practices described in the passages quoted above. The cave is situated 25 meters up on a 100-meter-high granite cliff face. The triangular entrance is twelve meters high and nineteen meters wide, and the cave has a floor area of roughly two thousand square meters. (Mi 1981)

Yang Hong (2002: 27 Fig. 1) has published a photograph of the invocatory inscription in the Gaxian Cave⁽¹³⁾, and the text has been transcribed by Mi Wenping (1981: 2). It is located on the western wall, approximately fifteen meters from the entrance. Like the inscription recorded in the *Wei shu* and the *Bei shi*, it is dated to the Zhenjun reign period, specifically the same year (443) as that given in the *Bei shi*. The contents of the inscription are essentially the same as those of the

invocation recorded in the *Wei shu*, but with considerable discrepancies. Clearly, though, the text of the invocation recorded in the dynastic histories is somehow closely related to that of the inscription in the Gaxian Cave.

Regardless of the factuality of the events recounted in the inscription (see note 8), it is obvious from the historical record cited above that the Xianbei of the Northern Wei acquired their horse-and-tree ceremony from the Xiongnu of the Han period. In attempting to trace the antecedents of this distinctive ceremony, where does the trail lead us? The answer is unmistakable: to the Indo-Europeans whose origins lay to the west.

Indo-European Parallels

Already in the late Neolithic period, northern European peoples sacrificed horses to rivers. Since the victims were ritually slain with a flint dagger, it is presumed that they were considered to be noble creatures worthy of consecration to the river spirits. (Maringer 1974: 313) It is generally acknowledged that horse sacrifice was practiced already during the common Indo-European period (Koppers 1936: 284–285), and most IE stocks have evidence for the sacrifice of horses^[14].

In his survey of the archeological data concerning the ritual treatment of the horse in the Pontic-Caspian region during the putative Proto-Indo-European period, ca. 4000–2500 BC, Mallory (1981) shows that the horse was held in special esteem among the major groups of the Early Kurgan tradition, specifically the Srednii Stog, Yamna (Pit-Grave), and Catacomb-Grave cultures. It is interesting that the deposition of the entire horse is extremely rare in Early Kurgan burials. Generally, only certain parts of the horse's anatomy are placed in the grave or pit. The most frequent deposition is the head (skull, jaw, or teeth), followed by the forelegs or hooves. Other parts of the horse are rarely represented. Furthermore, when more than one part of the horse is found in a burial, it is usually the head and the hooves. In some instances, the arrangement of the horse remains above a burial is in perfect conformity with the head-and-hooves ritual. (*Ibid.*, 213)

The head(s)-and-hooves ritual has been studied in a classic paper by Stuart Piggott (1962)^[15]. He begins with an examination of archeological finds uncovered and analyzed by the Danish scholar Ole Klindt-Jensen^[16] during excavations of Migration Period sites on the island of Bornholm, which lies close to the southeasternmost tip of Sweden, in particular at the Sorte Muld settlement (in this case the fifth century AD). Following Klindt-Jensen, and moving outward in space and time, Piggott points out that comparable finds of horse skulls and feet (but not other

parts of the skeleton), had been made in Danish and German bogs, at least one of which dated to the late Roman Iron Age. Similar deposits accompanied sixth-through eleventh-century burials in Hungary and Transylvania, as well as in South Russia from as early as the fourth century. Klindt-Jensen and Piggott both recognized that all of these finds could only be explained as resulting from rites in which the skin of the sacrificed horse, with head and hoofs still attached, played an essential role. Considering the available historical and ethnographic evidence, much of which is cited in later sections of the present paper, this configuration of skull and hoofs resulted from the practice of eating the flesh of the victim, but leaving its head, complete skin, and hooves intact. This ensemble was then hung on a pole (looking from a distance like an entire horse suspended against the sky) until the skin rotted away, leaving the skull and hooves to fall to the ground. As Piggott astutely closes his virtuosic, well-documented article, "Celtic seer and Siberian shaman had much in common." One cannot but agree with his perception that the widespread adoption of this highly distinctive practice attests to "a loosely-meshed network of contacts over much of Eurasia throughout subsequent^[17] prehistory. . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 111)

The oldest evidence for the head-and-hoof ritual^[18] is from the steppe Eneolithic (Copper Age) cemetery at S'ezzh'e (Sezsheye) in the Samara River Valley near Samara (Mallory and Adams 1997: 498b–499a), east of the Middle Volga, dated to about 5000 BC. (Anthony 2005) This is highly significant, since it stems from the time of the very beginning of the Indo-European people and is located in what the majority of scholars consider to be the IE heartland^[19]. The Eneolithic culture along the Middle Volga was succeeded by the Copper / Early Bronze Age culture known as Yamna (c. 3600–2200 BC), which spanned from the Danube to the Urals. Yamna was followed, in turn, by the Early Bronze Age Catacomb Culture (c. 3000–2200 BC) in roughly the same area. Both the Yamna and the Catacomb cultures continued the custom of burials of heads and hooves of horses with the deceased. (Mallory and Adams 1997: 278b–279b) After these prehistoric instances^[20], the practice has continued unabated among IE peoples and spread (as we shall see below) to many other groups with whom the Indo-Europeans came in contact as they traveled across Eurasia. In short, nothing could be more characteristic of the Proto-Indo-Europeans than the horse, and nothing could be more broadly characteristic of IE cultic practices concerning the horse than the head-and-hooves ritual.

Perhaps the best-known horse sacrifice of antiquity is the Indian *asvamedha*, whose name preserves well the old IE roots. The first element of the compound is manifestly from IE **ekwo-* ("horse"), while the second denotes a sacrificial offering of food and drink, probably related to

mad-(“be drunk, intoxicated; rejoice; enjoy heavenly bliss [said of gods and deceased ancestors]”). It is noteworthy that there is an old Celtic proper name that is undoubtedly cognate with *āsvamedha*, namely *IPOMIIDVOS* (i.e., *Epomeduos*). The *IPO*-(*Epo*-) component of the name reminds us of Greek *hippo*-(“horse”), and the *meduos* part is derived from IE **medhu*-and would have indicated a “sweet drink, honey, mead.”^[21] The early Indo-Europeans were evidently “crazy about horses.” (Puhvel 1955) Or, as Mallory (1989:136) puts it in more linguistically precise terms, “both the Indic and Celtic worlds still preserve the ancient Proto-Indo-European name of a horse-centred ceremony involving intoxication.”

The *āsvamedha* was held during the spring in conjunction with the Old Indian inauguration of the king. The *āsvamedha* had a parallel in the Roman *Equus October* (or October Horse) when a stallion from the right side of a winning chariot team was selected for immolation. (Pascal 1981; Hubbell 1928) *Equus October* took place on the Ides (i.e., the fifteenth) of the Roman equivalent of the Old Indian month of *āsvayuja* (“month of the yoked horses,” also called *Āsvina*). The victim was offered to the warrior deity, Mars, and then dismembered, with the head and “tail” (generally thought to be a euphemism for penis), the blood still dripping, being sent to different locations. The ultimate purpose of the *Equus October* was to insure an abundant harvest.

The Indo-Iranian peoples had a particularly close affinity with the horse. (Swennen 2004) Already in the *Rgveda*, hymns CLXII and CLXIII are devoted to the horse and its sacrifice^[22]. It is particularly noteworthy that the horse is identified with the sun and Agni (fire, but here also functioning as a solar deity), and that the horse is said to draw the chariot of the sun across the sky. The same relationship (sun, horse, chariot) is explicitly embraced among many IE peoples, and there is abundant archaeological evidence in support of this tightly knit complex of ideas (see, for example, the discussion of the Trundholm bronze chariot below under “Eurasian Continuities”; cf. Maringer 1981; Figs. 13, 16) from Europe, the Eurasian steppes, and other places where the Indo-Europeans went with their horses and chariots. This sun-horse-chariot symbolism also worked its way into Chinese myth and legend, and this has been perceptively discussed by Snow (2002: *passim*, but especially pp. 35–37).

There are many other crucial details in the *Rgvedic* hymns to the horse, such as its comparison with a deer^[23], and the elaborate preparations for cooking it in a cauldron^[24], which means that the victim’s flesh must have been eaten. For the purposes of our present inquiry, however, let us concentrate only upon verse 6 of hymn CLXII:

The hewers of the post and those who carry it, and those who carve the knob to

deck the Horse's stake. . . . (Griffith, tr. , 107b)

There were actually 21 posts (*yūpa*) required for the Rgvedic horse sacrifice, and they were made from the wood of six different types of trees. Moreover, special attention was paid to the wooden ring (*caṣāla*) at the top of the *yūpa*. With so many wooden posts surrounding it, the sacrificial horse may be said to have entered an artificial grove.

Despite the extraordinary importance of the *āsvamedha* in ancient India, the horse was not indigenous to the South Asian subcontinent. Because of the subtropical climate, the breeding of horses was seldom successful, hence the need for constant replenishment and revitalization from the lands to the north. The nonindigenoussness of the horse in India notwithstanding, this noble animal occupied a central position in the society, religion, and ideology of the Vedic Aryans. (Stutley and Stutley 1984: 24) This would appear to support the argument that the ultimate origins of these cultural attributes lay in the steppes, whence came the tamed (< PIE $\sqrt{\text{demā-}}$ [“constrain, force, break in”]) horse⁽²⁵⁾.

The Iranians, the other half of the Indo-Iranian dyad, were masters of the horse. In the early stages, the horse was used mainly for pulling war chariots, but gradually it came to be used for riding as well. This is attested in the *Avesta*, where heroes are described as entering battlefields or sacrificial venues “on horseback” (*Yāšt* 5.51, 10.11; *Yasna* 11.2).

Horses were also offered to gods, and the *Ābān Yašt* celebrates many Iranian kings and heroes who sacrificed one hundred horses, one thousand oxen, and ten thousand sheep to *Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā*, asking her for special boons. The formula well indicates the value of the horse, and indeed, an Avestan passage records that an excellent (*ayryō.tamō*) horse was worth eight pregnant cows. (Shahbazi 1985–1987:725a)

Greek historians wrote of horse sacrifice as being a common rite during a Persian monarch's funeral. The Byzantines referred to the worship of a *ἑνὸς ἵππος* (literally, “harnessed horse”) among the Persians in the 7th century. The Sogdians (Middle Iranian people of Central Asia) observed a special celebration, called the *čahārom*, which centered upon the immolation of a horse, as attested in their art and religious literature. (Compareti 2003: 201)

Herodotus (IV.72) provides a gruesome, detailed description of the Scythians' voracious appetite for human and equine sacrifice upon the death of one of their kings:

When a year is gone by, further ceremonies take place. Fifty of the best of the late king's attendants are taken, all native Scythians – for, as bought slaves are unknown in the country, the Scythian kings choose any of their subjects that they like, to wait on

them – fifty of these are taken and strangled, with fifty of the most beautiful horses. When they are dead their bowels are taken out, and the cavity cleaned, filled full of chaff, and straightway sewn up again. This done, a number of posts are driven into the ground, in sets of two pairs each, and on every pair half the felly of a wheel is placed archwise; then strong stakes are run lengthways through the bodies of the horses from tail to neck, and they are mounted upon the fellies, so that the felly in front supports the shoulders of the horse, while that behind sustains the belly and quarters, the legs dangling in midair; each horse is furnished with a bit and bridle, which latter is stretched out in front of the horse, and fastened to a peg. The fifty strangled youths are then mounted severally on the fifty horses. To effect this, a second stake is passed through their bodies along the course of the spine to the neck; the lower end of which projects from the body, and is fixed into a socket, made in the stake that runs lengthwise down the horse. The fifty riders are thus ranged in a circle round the tomb, and so left.

(Herodotus 1942: 318 – 319)

This is not even to mention the original funeral rites that attended the death of the Scythian king, together with all the sacrifices of men, women, and horses that occurred during the construction of the tomb and the raising of a vast mound above it^[26]. For our purposes, what is most notable about the ceremonies that took place a year after the death of the Scythian king is the extravagant display of sacrificed horses set up on wooden frames.

The sacrifice of horses among the Scythians was by no means restricted solely to the funerals of kings and chieftains. According to Herodotus (IV. 61), the favorite victims of the Scythians were horses, and the Massagetae sacrificed horses to the sun, their only god, “giving to the swiftest of the gods the swiftest of all mortal creatures” (*ibid.*, I. 216). (Thordarson 1985 – 87: 731a) Inasmuch as the Scythians and Massagetae were Iranian peoples (and there were others who adhered to similar customs) who roamed the steppes widely from the Black Sea to East Asia during the first millennium BC and the first millennium AD, it is easy to understand how they could have been responsible for transmitting such characteristically Indo-European practices from west to east.

The preponderance of the evidence just cited (and much more could be adduced) indicates clearly that the horse played an important role in Indo-European culture from its inception (von Negelein 1903), and that horse sacrifice was an integral part of the ritual life of the majority of ancient Indo-European peoples. But what of trees? Did the Indo-Europeans also have a close relationship with trees? And, furthermore, were trees and horses somehow linked in the imagination

or psyche of the Indo-Europeans?

The best-known, relatively up-to-date study on this subject is Friedrich (1970). But there have been many other articles and monographs written about the intimate association between Indo-Europeans and trees. For a short, authoritative survey, see Friedrich's articles in Mallory and Adams (1997: 598a-601a and *passim*), where we find the following perceptive comment:

To a degree that goes beyond other semantic sets, the arboreal terms and the tree names in particular indicate a relatively strong western-central area that includes Celtic, Italic, Germanic, Baltic and Slavic. Among these Slavic shows the highest rate of mutual correspondence, which may suggest that its ecological area corresponds relatively closely with that of the earliest Indo-Europeans.

As with the horse, so it would appear with trees that the IE homeland may have lain in the region with which the Slavs were most closely related.

The first volume of part I of James George Frazer's celebrated *The Golden Bough* begins with a chapter entitled "The King of the Wood," the first section of which is about Diana and Virbius. (1935 I; esp. 20-21) Virbius was a local, Italian deity worshipped with Diana (Greek Artemis) at the sacred grove of Aricia, and was held to be the presiding genius of the wood and the chase. For some, he was thought of as the sun. He was, moreover, identified as a reincarnation of Hippolytus, a name obviously derived from the Greek for "horse." According to legend, Hippolytus was a chaste huntsman and a favorite of Artemis. He was slain by horses (his alter egos) and raised from the dead by Aesculapius (the Greek god of medicine), then taken by the goddess to the sacred grove of Aricia in Latium, where he was worshipped as Virbius, a deity of vegetation. Frazer observes that spirits of corn (i.e., grain) are often represented in the form of horses. Thus we see a close interrelationship among horses, the sun, sacred groves, and crops. The second volume of part I of *The Golden Bough* opens with chapter 8, which returns to the theme of the King of the Wood, and, in chapters 9 and 10, Frazer respectively reviews in great detail "The Worship of Trees" and "Relics of Tree-Worship in Modern Europe." With enormous erudition, these themes have been further elucidated by Robert Graves in *The White Goddess* (1948). Mannhardt (1875; 1905) also emphasized the centrality for Northern Europeans of cultic ceremonies held in groves and forests. There can be no mistaking the sacrality of trees, groves, woods, and forests for many ancient and medieval European groups.

The Germanic peoples, in particular, were devoted to trees:

Germanic cultural fondness for tree symbolism appears to have been widespread,

with other patron trees such as Thor's Oak appearing in surviving accounts (8th century) and Ahmad ibn Faḍlān's account of his encounter with the Scandinavian Rus tribe in the early 10th century, describing them as tattooed from "fingernails to neck" with dark blue "tree patterns." (*Wikipedia*, 5/16/06 2:31 PM)

It is well known that the Scandinavian peoples were fond of making human sacrifice in sacred bogs. They did not, however, limit themselves to consecrating chosen individuals to the spirits of the bogs, since they also sunk bronze implements and other precious objects in them. What is not so widely known is the fact that they also carried out head-and-hooves rituals above them or in their vicinity. One may still see at Lejre (Simek 1993: 187 – 188) in Denmark a stunning reconstruction of such sacrifices, with horse skins (including head and hooves intact) suspended from wooden frames^[27]. (Fig. 1) In fact, the set-up is quite similar to that described by Herodotus for the Scythians (see above), with a pole being thrust along the length of the spine to the head of the horse, the skin and legs dangling below, and the pole being suspended from a simple wooden framework.

The sacrificial treatment of the horse in Sweden is documented for the eleventh century by Adam of Bremen^[28] in his history (IV. 27):

It is the custom moreover every nine years^[29] for a common festival of all the provinces of Sweden to be held at Uppsala. Kings and commoners one and all send their gifts to Uppsala, and what is more cruel than any punishment, even those who have accepted Christianity have to buy immunity from these ceremonies. The sacrifice is as follows: of every living creature they offer nine head, and with the blood of those it is the custom to placate the gods, but the bodies are hanged in a grove which is near the temple; so holy is that grove to the heathens that each tree in it is presumed to be divine by reason of the victim's death and putrefaction. There also dogs and horses hang along with men. One of the Christians told me that he had seen seventy-two^[30] bodies of various kinds hanging there, but the incantations which are usually sung at this kind of sacrifice are various and disgraceful, and so we had better say nothing about them.

(quoted in Davidson 1988: 59)

Adam's Catholic disapprobation notwithstanding, the extreme veneration for groves and the trees within them comes through clearly in this passage. In the sacrifice of men and horses (dogs were particularly important to the Scythians and other Iranian peoples [Mair 1998]), the commonality with Scythian sacrifice is also evident, except that the Scythians—denizens of the steppe—

had to resort to posts on which to hang their sacrificial victims, rather than sacred trees. There are, more-over, literary records made by the Vikings themselves which attest to their practice of the peculiar impaling ceremony described for the Scythians and many other Eurasian peoples throughout this study. (Boyle 1963: 207n33; Chadwick 1942: 76)

Jones and Pennick (1995: 139-40) point out that "Ceremonial horse slaughter for a sacral meal of horseflesh was part of northern European Paganism." They go on to explain that the horse was the totemic beast of Woden / Odin, and that the church consequently made determined (but by no means entirely successful) efforts to eradicate it throughout the medieval period and even into early modern times.

The connection between Odin and the horse is cemented through what is the grandest tree of all, Yggdrasil (or Ygdrasil). In Norse mythology, this is the great World Ash Tree whose roots and branches hold together heaven, earth, and hell (indeed, all the nine worlds of Norse cosmology [at the bottom of which lay a spring to water the great tree]) a veritable *axis mundi*^[31]. The name is commonly interpreted to mean "Terrible Horse" ("Terrible" being an epithet of Odin), or "The Horse of Ygg (the Ogre)." ^[32] Yggdrasil was also conceived of as Odin's gallows tree, the gallows being compared to a steed (*drasil*) on which men rode to their death^[33].

In his *Germanic Mythology*, the great German philologist and folklorist, Jakob Grimm (1785-1863), provides extensive material that is relevant to the present inquiry:

In the oldest times chiefly horses seem to have been sacrificed; undoubtedly their flesh was universally eaten before the introduction of Christianity. Missionaries found nothing so repellant about the pagans as the latter not abandoning the killing of horses and enjoying of their flesh. The cutting off of the horse's head, which was not eaten but dedicated to the God, must not be overlooked in this connection.

... Among all animal sacrifices, that of the horse was the most noble and the most solemn. Our forefathers had it in common with several Slavic and Finnish peoples, with Persians and Indians. The horse was held by them all to be a particularly sacred animal. ...

A temple is simultaneously a wood. What we think of as a walled building merges, the farther back we go, into a sacred place untouched by human hands, in a grove and enclosed by dense trees. There the God dwells, veiling his form in the rustling foliage of the boughs. There is the place at which the hunter has to present him with the game he has killed and the herdsman his horses, oxen and rams.

... Here and there a God may haunt a mountain top, a cave in the rocks, a river. But the solemn general worship by the people had its seat in the grove.

... In the course of centuries and until the introduction of Christianity, the custom was served of worshipping the deity in the sacred forests and trees. Among the Saxons and Frisians the worship in the groves lasted far longer. In various parts of Lower Saxony and Westphalia traces of sacred oaks have been preserved until recent times, to which the people showed a half-pagan, half-Christian reverence.

(Grimm 1997: 10, 12 – 13 [with minor changes])

Thus we observe among the Indo-Europeans, virtually from the time of their inception, a peculiar concatenation of veneration for horses and for trees. The horsehead-and-hooves ritual, in essence, combines the two forms of worship into a remarkably impressive sacrificial ritual. In its earliest stages, the horsehead-and-hooves ritual was uniquely characteristic of Indo-European peoples. As the Indo-Europeans (and their equestrian arts) spread across Eurasia, however, they carried this distinctive form of sacrificial ceremony (together with other aspects of horse culture) with them, transmitting it to many other groups who were denizens of the steppe.

Eurasian Continuities

At Botai, an Eneolithic site southeast of the Urals in the northern part of Kazakhstan dating to c. 3600 – 3100 BC, hundreds of thousands of horse bones have been discovered. Aside from being used for consumption, the horse had other functions at Botai. For example, we see an interesting ritual practice involving parts of the horse. The people there buried the tops of horse skulls next to articulated cervical vertebrae in ritual pits around the outside of their houses. The heads pointed to the northeast (spring kill, facing the rising sun), east (probably late summer), or southeast (autumn kill, the most frequent). (Olsen 2005; Olsen 2003; esp. 98a – 100b)

Head and neck burials were very common in the Bronze Age in Mongolia. These are often found in association with a particular type of burial complex called a *khirigsuur* (also spelled *kherek-sur*). This consists of a burial under a large stone mound with a square (or, less often, round) stone enclosure. While there are numerous *khirigsuurs* in Mongolia, we may take the site of Urt Bulagyn (KYR1) as typical, though larger than most. Urt Bulagyn is located in the valley of the Khanuy River, to the north of the Khangay mountain range in Arkhangai Aimag. The central mound has yet to be excavated, but several of the satellite mounds have yielded extremely interest-

ing results. All together, there are approximately 1,750 small mounds around the outside of the rectangular wall made of stones. Concentrated on the eastern and southern sides, each mound typically has a horse head and neck in the center under a pile of stones. All of the horse heads point to the east or southeast (120° or slightly less), in all likelihood a solar orientation. At other *khirigsuurs*, satellite mounds contained various combinations of head, neck, and hoof remains. The orientations of the heads range from east to southeast (around 90° to about 135°). Some of the *khirigsuurs* give evidence of growth and use over an extended period of time. The upper and lower limits of C^{14} dates obtained from *khirigsuurs* in the Khanuy Valley thus far range from 1390 to 680 BC, with the average hovering around 1000 BC. (Olsen 2005; Allard and Erdenebaatar 2005)

It is not surprising that the horse is closely associated with the Sun God in many areas of the Eurasian steppe and beyond. Indeed, one of the most evocative Bronze Age works of art from Northern Europe is the famous Trundholm bronze sun chariot, which dates to c. 1650 BC. The Trundholm sun chariot consists of a model of a horse on four wheels drawing a disk, which is also on wheels (two in this case). The disk is gold-plated on one side, to represent the sun, while the other side may have been meant to represent the moon. The diameter of the disk is 25.9 cm. and the overall length of the entire vehicle is 59 cm. It was recovered from the bog at Trundholm, on the island of Zealand between Jutland (Denmark) and Sweden^[34]. (Hammond 1988: 117)

The monumental kurgans at Arzhan (Tuva, Uyk Valley, in the Altai region of the Russian Federation) provide further insight into the lavish use of horses for sacrifice by peoples of the Eurasian steppe during the first millennium BC. Arzhan kurgan I was constructed during the 9th-8th centuries BC, making it the source of the oldest-known early Scythian artifacts of the Eurasian steppe. It was 4 meters in height and 120 meters in diameter, which gives a good idea of its enormous proportions. Beneath the mound, nearly a hundred wooden burial chambers were arrayed in concentric, interlocking circles around a central tomb. It is estimated that this huge kurgan would have required no less than 1,500 men to build in a period of seven or eight days. Found within the kurgan were the complete bodies of 160 fully caparisoned horses, plus the remains of 300 additional horses whose flesh had been eaten. (Sōma 2005).

Arzhan kurgan II, which yielded massive amounts of golden objects, also belongs to the early Scythian period, although to the latter part of this period—approximately the 7th c. BC. Among the 9,300 objects recovered from the site by a joint German-Russian team working there from 2000 to 2002, fully 5,700 are made of gold, making it one of the richest archeological inventories ever found in Siberia and the Eurasian steppe. Within the kurgan of Arzhan II, a total of 26 graves have

been excavated. For the purposes of our present investigation, the most vital is number 16, significantly positioned in the southeastern sector of the kurgan. In this carefully constructed grave were deposited the remains of 14 horses, complete with bronze bits, cheekpieces, and other fittings, as well as golden ornaments for the mane, and so forth. This grave of elaborately sacrificed horses was covered by a large quantity of massive stone slabs, signaling its special ritualistic importance. (Parzinger 2003; Čugunov 2003)

A little less than a thousand kilometers to the southwest of Arzhan lies the vast complex of cemeteries at Charwighul (Chawuhugou), south of the Tängri Tagh (Tian Shan [“Heavenly Mountains”]) near Khotunsumbul (Hejing), along the north central rim of the Tarim Basin. A typical tomb here is 83M18 in Cemetery I. The main tomb is a stone-lined pit which was covered with massive monoliths and is marked on the surface by a circle of stones. Along the northwestern and western perimeter of the grave were found several ancillary burials, including one with a single horse skull and four thighbones, one with two horse skulls and four hooves, and another one with one horse skull and four hooves, plus the grave of an infant. C14 dates at this cemetery range from 825 ± 80 to 525 ± 80 BC. Charwighul was probably associated with Wusun, or perhaps Scythians, in any event Iranian peoples of some sort. At Zaghunluq, near Chärchän (Qiemo) along the southeastern rim of the Tarim Basin, horse skulls and forelegs are found in burials from a similar time period. At Moron in northern Mongolia, there is a *khirigsuur* known as Ulaan Uushig I, which dates to around the tenth century BC. All along the eastern edge of the site (outside the square enclosure) there are 21 small stone mounds, among which five small pits typically yielded a horse skull, four hooves, and a vertebra. (Sôma 2005)

The ritual practices discussed above in this section all preceded, or were contemporary with, the horse sacrifices of the Xiongnu and Särbi described near the beginning of this paper. The same sorts of treatment of the horse were maintained in Asia during the succeeding centuries. Boyle (1965:145) recognizes a form of horse sacrifice among the 13th- and 14th-century Mongols “as a late survival of a tradition which goes back to the great Scythian barrows on the Kuban^[35] in the 6th century B. C.” The Mongol practice of erecting one or more horse skins over a burial site is documented by travelers from the west: Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, Vincent of Beauvais, Ricoldo da Montecroce, Kirakos of Ganjak, and Ibn-Battūta. As reconstructed from these various sources, the procedure was roughly as follows: “First the horse was ridden around until it dropped of exhaustion; its head was then washed in kumys, its bones and intestines removed and a pole was thrust in at the belly and out through the mouth.” (*Ibid.*, p. 147)

It is worth quoting one of these sources in more detail. Here is the testimony of the Franciscan friar Giovanni da Pian del Carpine (ca. 1180 – 1252), who was the first notable European traveler in the Mongol empire:

And they bury with him a mare and her foal and a horse with bridle and saddle, and another horse they eat and fill its skin with straw, and this they stick up on two or four poles, so that in the next world he may have a dwelling in which to make his abode and a mare to provide him with milk, and that he may be able to increase his horses and have horses on which to ride⁽³⁶⁾.

A still more graphic, first-hand account of this peculiar form of ritual as practiced by the Mongols is provided by the Armenian historian Kirakos of Ganjak (1201 – 1272), who had been captured by the Mongols and forced to serve as one of their secretaries. Writing around 1241, he vividly describes the sacrifice:

And when they wished to have a memorial of the dead man, they ripped open the belly of a horse and pulled out all the flesh without bones, and then they burnt the intestines and bones and sewed up the skin of the horse as though it had its whole body. Having sharpened a great pole they thrust it in the belly and pulled it out through the mouth; and thus they raised it up on a tree or some elevated place.

(Boyle 1963: 204 – 207)

A passage by the Armenian historian Movsēs Daxurancī (Kalankatuāci), à propos the mission of the Armeno-Albanian bishop Israyel in 681 – 682 to the Khazars (or vassals of the Khazars) in Northern Daghestan, reveals deep affinities with the worship of trees and with horse sacrifices among the Northern Europeans discussed earlier in this paper. According to Boyle (1965: 148), Movsēs Daxurancī states that “this people used to sacrifice horses to oak-trees dedicated to Tengri⁽³⁷⁾, pouring the animals’ blood over the trees and suspending their heads and skins from the branches.” Boyle goes on to comment that “This is a ritual which survived into modern times amongst the [Finnish and Turkic] forest peoples along the [Middle] Volga.” Here I wish to reiterate that the general pattern would appear to be that of a preference for display of the horse’s remains in trees, but that where trees were scarce or lacking altogether (as in many parts of the steppe), resort to posts and poles procured from elsewhere was acceptable.

Similar equine sacrificial customs were adopted by the Old Türks of Central and Inner Asia as a crucial component of their burial practices. (Ôsawa 2002) (Fig. 2) Medieval European and Arabian travelers record grave monuments consisting of horse carcasses or horse hides among the Cum-

ans and various Altaic peoples of Central Asia. (Roux 1963: esp. 135ff; Boyle 1965: 145 – 150; Thordarson 1985 – 1987: 731a)

During the mid-19th century, at the spring festival Kalmucks in the valley of the Ichurish in the Altai held sacrifices to their deity. The rich gave horses, while the poor offered sheep or goats. The victim was slain and then flayed; its skin was raised on a pole above a framework, placed with its head facing east. The flesh was cooked in a large cauldron, and the tribe held a great feast. (Czaplicka 1914: 304; quoting T. W. Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia* [1858: 382 – 383])

Radloff (1968 [1893]: 20 – 25) describes in detail a Siberian horse sacrifice conducted by a shaman, including the words of his chants and songs. In this case too, the pelt of the victim, with head and hooves still attached, is suspended from a long pole. (Fig. 3) Among the Mongol Buryat, the skin and head of a horse are symbolically raised up towards Heaven on a pole during the annual tribal sacrifice. (Chadwick 1942: 76) (Fig. 4) Eliade (1964: 190 – 97, esp. 192) provides a graphic description of the killing of the sacrificial victim and the display of its pelt and bones on a long pole. (Fig. 5) He also notes that the same ceremony exists among many Altaic tribes and the Teleut, and that the sacrifice of the head and long bones is practiced among Arctic peoples as well (though naturally using reindeer instead of horses).

Finally, Sandor Bökönyi (1978 – 1979) has documented the vestigial persistence of these rituals in modern Hungary, where horse skulls are mounted on fenceposts.

This has by no means been intended as an exhaustive account of Eurasian horse sacrifice ceremonies, but rather as a representative sampling. One thing that emerges clearly from this survey is the widespread adoption of the head-and-hooves ritual by numerous different groups who lived on the steppe, or who were in close contact with steppe peoples regardless of ethnic or linguistic affiliation.

Conclusion

It is telling that the major sacrifices of the Xiongnu and Xianbei (as with the Romans and other Indo-Europeans) were in autumn when the horses were at their fattest and healthiest for consumption. The Kazakhs and Mongolians still observe this custom, although the Mongolians do not eat horse very much. The survival of the Xiongnu-Xianbei horse-and-tree ritual may be seen in what the Mongolians still do today. They place a stick in a stone pile (*oboo*, also spelled *obo*, *obu*,

obugu, *obun*, etc.) and put horse heads, vodka bottles, and other offerings around the base. To decorate and sanctify the “tree,” they tie blue prayer scarves onto it. When a traveler comes up to an *oboo*, he or she places a small stone on the pile and walks clockwise around the *oboo* three times^[38]. The persistence of ancient Eurasian horse-related customs is also witnessed among Kazakhs who have moved from Mongolia to Kazakhstan. They still put horse skins on sticks, especially if someone is ill. (Olsen 2005)

Human beings engage in animal sacrifice for a variety of reasons: to appease or please the gods, to seek blessings, to avoid disasters, to celebrate good fortune, to mourn the loss of a leader or loved one, and so on. The domestic animals sacrificed include dogs, pigs, chickens, cattle, goats, and sheep. As we have seen, horses were also sacrificed, but it seems as if they were sacrificed less often than the other domestic animals, probably because they were considered to be more valuable and more loved. Thus, when human beings did sacrifice horses, it was often at moments of extraordinary importance, such as the death or coronation of a king or ruler, or at a major (national) festival. The horse sacrifice was the most aristocratic of sacrifices, and it was often carried out in particularly sacred spaces, such as hallowed groves. Furthermore, it was especially among the people of the steppe, above all the Indo-Europeans who domesticated the horse and those who succeeded them (the Xiongnu, the Xianbei, the Mongols, etc.), that horse sacrifice was performed—with the utmost solemnity.

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Notes

[1] As in previous papers on related themes, by “north(west)ern” I mean both “northern” and “northwest-

ern" (in relation to the East Asian Heartland [EAH]).

- [2] One extraordinarily large sacrificial horse pit was discovered next to the tomb of Duke Jing 景公 (c. 547–490 BC) of the state of Qi 齐 (at modern Heyatou in Linzi 临淄, Shandong Province). It is about 200 meters long and contains the skeletons of more than 600 sacrificed horses. (Chang and Xu 2005: 233, Fig. 7.42) The sight of such an enormous number of horses lined up in pairs and stretching into the distance is overwhelming. Clearly the Duke of Qi was striving to make a statement through this grossly prodigious sacrifice. For horse-poor Shandong, the significance of his act is all the more profound. The amount of resources that must have been expended to procure such a vast amount of sacrificial victims is stupendous. It is no wonder that, during the Shang period, the people of the EAH—surely not without envy—referred to certain of their horse-rich nomadic neighbors as *duoma* 多马 (“[having] many horses”).
- [3] The contentious question of the identity of the Xiongnu 匈奴 is far too complicated to address here. Suffice it to say that the name Xiongnu (Old Sinitic **xiung-no*) is clearly related to the ethnonym Hun, since they are equated via Sogdian *xwn* (Hun). The latter occurs in the famous Sogdian letters of the early fourth century (311 AD), which explicitly identify the Xiongnu as *xwn*. (Sims-Williams 1996: 47) This does not, however, mean that the ethnic composition of the Xiongnu and Hun confederations were identical. To be sure, as is natural for highly mobile, clan-based, steppe confederacies, their ethnic makeup was liable to shift in accordance with time and circumstance. Still, while the ethnic composition of the Xiongnu and the Huns may have varied, there is no reason to doubt their fundamental political and cultural identity. (Wright 1997; de la Vaissière 2005)

The role of the Xiongnu has been a major theme of research into the dynamics of the interrelationship between the steppe, nomadic zone and the settled, agricultural zone in East Asian history during the late first millennium BC and early first millennium AD. See Barfield (1989) and Di Cosmo (2002) for two different, yet equally illuminating, approaches to the question.

- [4] Youdu means roughly “in the northern area where they had gathered”; lit., “secluded capital.”
- [5] A branch of the Xianbei people. As so often happens with words and names transcribed into Sinitic, their name is written in different ways, and they are undoubtedly the same people as the Wuluohun 乌罗浑 (Middle Sinitic pronunciation **ʷo-lə-yuən*). While modern ethnographers have not made a connection with the tiny (around 7,000 individuals in 1990) minority nationality (*shaoshu minzu* 少数民族) of today known as the Oroqen (MSM Elunchun 鄂伦春; they are also called variously Chilins, Orochs, Orochels, Orochens, Orochons, Orochans, Ororchans, Orochis, Oroquens, Solons, Soluns, and Suluns), there are compelling reasons to link the early medieval Wuluohou / Wuluohun with the Oroqen. Aside from the obvious similarity of their names, the Oroqen live in precisely the same area as did the Wuluohun, namely, in Huma, Xunke, Aihui, and Jiayin counties of Heilongjiang Province and in the Hulun Buir League of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. Their language is Tungusic and is thought by ethnolinguists to be closely related to (perhaps even a dialect of) Evenk. The Oroqen ethnonym is gen-

- erally interpreted as meaning "mountain people" or "reindeer people (i. e., herders). For a valuable introduction to the history and ethnography of the Oroqen, together with a helpful bibliography concerning them, see Olson (1998: 267—70). For anthropological (including physical anthropological) data about the Oroqen and photographs of them, see Du and Yip (1993: 39—42). For the folklore of the Oroqen, with due attention to horses, trees, and solar themes, see Stuart and Li (1994).
- [6] That is, Taiwu Di, the third Northern Wei emperor, 408—452, r. 423—452.
- [7] Approximately 1,333 miles. This is a very crude approximation of the actual distance from the far north-eastern part of Inner Mongolia, where the Gaxian Cave is located, to Datong in northern Shanxi, where the Northern Wei had its capital until Xiaowendi moved it farther south to Luoyang in the year 493. The actual distance is about 900 miles (roughly 1,400 kilometers).
- [8] For a detailed historical and political analysis of this and related texts, see Pearce (forthcoming). Most modern scholars hold that the legend of the ancestral cave-shrine of the Northern Wei rulers was concocted by Emperor Taiwu in collusion with his advisers, and perhaps also with the collaboration of the Wuluohu. In any event, the entire episode of the fifth-century discovery of the shrine is deeply revealing of the ethnic complexities and international relations of the time.
- [9] In accordance with the commentary of Yan Shigu, this might more precisely and felicitously be rendered as "Grove of Circumambulation."
- [10] The exact same passage (with one tiny exception) occurs in *Shi ji*, *juan* 110, p. 2892, commentaries on p. 2893. The only difference between the text in the *Han shu* and that in the *Shi ji* is that, for the *long* of Longcheng 龙城 (Dragon City) the latter aberrantly has 茏城 (City of *Polygonum orientale* [prince's feather]).
- [11] Many of the old Indo-European horse sacrifices had some noticeable aspect of threeness inherent in them (e.g., the *asvamedha* [to be described below] lasted three days, the flesh of the horse was offered to three different deities or three estates [as in the Roman *October Equus*, also to be described below], and so forth), and this naturally leads to a consideration of the tripartite nature of society and myth (the so-called "functions") as analyzed by Georges Dumézil (1898—1986), but a full discussion of this topic lies beyond the scope of the present inquiry.
- [12] One *chi* among the Northern Wei was equal to 29.6 cm.
- [13] In the same article, Yang shows photographs of the inside and outside of the cave, and discusses the art of the Tabgatch Sārbi during this period.
- [14] For a brief but enlightening introduction to horse sacrifice among the early Indo-European peoples, see Mallory (1989:135—37).
- [15] See also Maringer (1981:191—192) for additional evidence, references, and penetrating comments on the head-and-hooves ritual.
- [16] References to the pertinent works of Klindt-Jensen and other scholars may be found in the first half-dozen

[17], By which Piggott means subsequent to the Sub-Mesolithic communities of the early second millennium BC.

[19] See, for example, Maringer (1981: 177), who holds that "[t]he domesticated horse emerged in the wooded steppe north of the Caspian and Black Seas" at a time (early fifth millennium BC) and presumably place that were essentially coterminous with the rise of the Indo-European peoples.

[21] As has often been remarked, the most widely accepted early borrowing from IE into Sinitic is the word for "honey" (Modern Standard Mandarin *mì* 蜜; Common Tocharian *myū* > Old Sinitic **mit*, Middle Sinitic **myit* (Carling 2005:55). Cf. modern English "mead," Sanskrit *madhu*, Avestan *maðu-* ("alcoholic beverage"), Greek *methy* ("wine"), Old Church Slavonic *medu*, Lithuanian *medus*, Old Irish *mid*.

(23) In *Rgveda*, Book 1, CLXIII, the sacrificed horse is explicitly compared to a deer. The horse is even said to have horns!

Verse 11: "Thy horns are spread abroad in all directions."

Commentators have engaged in the wildest contortions and circumlocutions (the "horns" [śṛṅga] actually signify hairs of the mane, the hoofs, etc.) in their vain efforts to explain these ostensibly odd formulations. In my opinion, when properly set in the context of the ultimate ancestry of the authors of the *Rgveda*, the description of the horse as a deer is not so strange after all. As I shall explain momentarily, there is good reason to believe that the Aryans truly possessed a deep memory of an intimate, primordial association with the deer, specifically the reindeer.

The latter verse (11) especially sounds more like it is describing the antlers of a deer rather than the horns of a bovine or ovicaprid. The fact that, in this verse, the word for "horn" is in the plural rather than the dual is not probative against an interpretation of the appendages as antlers, since the latter have a multiplicity of spreading branches that do seem to go "in all directions." In any event, the Rgvedic cer-
vidization of the horse reminds one of Scythian steppe art (e.g., at the Iron Age [ca. 5th c. BC] site of

Pazyryk in the Altai Mountains), where horses were often outfitted to resemble deer. What possible rational explanation could there be for this seemingly bizarre custom? I believe that it was because humans most likely first domesticated (herded, yoked, and rode) reindeer—which are far more placid than horses (personal observation of large, diffuse herds at close range in the far north of Sweden), and only then domesticated the horse by analogy based on their experience with reindeer. Hence, the horse may be thought of as a sort of surrogate reindeer.

According to this theory, human beings who had become acculturated to the reindeer during the latter stages of the Pleistocene would have migrated southward (with the retreat of the glaciers) during the early stages of the Holocene. As they did so, however, they would gradually have moved out of the range of the reindeer and into the habitat of the horse. This theory, which I am only able to sketch briefly here, accords well with the old notion of a northern origin of the Aryans, although—in my estimation—the boreal antecedents of the Aryans would have had to go back beyond their own inception to the very beginnings of the Indo-Europeans. Indeed, I hypothesize that it was the domestication of the horse itself, modeled on the deep familiarity of their forefathers with the reindeer during the first portion of the Holocene, that enabled the emerging Indo-Europeans to tame the horse, and that this very act—which took place in the southern Urals—was the defining moment of their birth as a distinct cultural and linguistic entity. I include language as an essential criterion because that is, after all, the touchstone for a family such as Indo-European, but also because the rising Indo-Europeans would naturally have required a fresh vocabulary and mode of expression to accord with their new environment and, above all, their intensely symbiotic relationship with the horse.

- [24] Note the importance of such vessels for the peoples of the steppe. The cauldron also figured prominently in the Irish analogue to the *avamedha*. (Mallory and Adams 1997:278a; Mallory 1989: 136)
- [25] For the northern origins of the Aryans, see note 23. The situation with regard to the horse is similar for China, though yet more attenuated, undoubtedly as a result of East Asia being even farther from the homeland of the domesticated horse than South Asia. (Mair 2005a: 217n89)
- [26] Those familiar with the Shang royal burials at Anyang will immediately recognize the striking resemblance they bear to Scythian royal burials as evidenced in historical descriptions and through archeological evidence. Since the Scythians (first millennium BC), however, came after the time of the Shang royal burials (12th c. BC), the obvious similarity must be due to derivation from an earlier ancestral culture.
- [27] See “Lejre Experimental Centre: Sacrificial Bog” on the Web for striking color photographs of such sacrifices.
- [28] Adam of Bremen was a renowned church historian in whose works, among many other interesting things, is to be found the first mention of Vinland, the part of North America reached by Leif Eriksson (fl. ca. 1000).
- [29] The custom of performing such *blót* (“blood sacrifices”) every nine years must have been common

- throughout Scandinavia, since it was also observed at Lejre, among other places. (Davidson 1988: 59) Our Modern English word "blessing" is derived from Old English *blædsian*, *blædsian*, *blætsian* ("to bless, wish happiness, consecrate") < Germanic **blōdan* ("blood"). Hence *blædsian* literally means "sprinkle (i.e., consecrate) with blood". (*The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th ed., 2000: 196b)
- [30] Seventy-two is a Eurasian mystical number, not to be taken literally. (Mair 2005a: 70–72)
- [31] Belief in a Tree of Life or Pillar of the World is widely distributed among many peoples in Eurasia and northeast Africa. (Holmberg 1922–23) In Chinese myth there is a tree in the far west called the Ruò 若木 whose foliage emits a reddish light that illuminates the earth. This is most likely a mythological explanation for the glow of sunset. Additionally, some scholars view the Ruò as a cosmic tree or the tree of life. See "The Classic of the Great Wilderness: the North" in *Shanhai jing* 《山海经》 (The Classic of Mountains and Seas). (Birrell 1999: 188) The Ruò tree also occurs several times in the southern songs known as *Chu ci* 《楚辞》 [Elegies of Chu], namely "Li sao 《离骚》" (Encountering Sorrow), "Tian wen 《天问》" (Heavenly Questions), and "Jiu zhang 《九章》" (Nine Declarations). (Hawkes 1959: 28, 49, 78) The Ruò tree in the far west is matched by the Fusang 扶桑 tree, whence the sun rises, in the east.
- [32] There are alternative, though less convincing, explanations for the name (e.g., "yew-column").
- [33] Odin is said to have spent nine nights hanging from Yggdrasill in order to discover the secret runes. In Old Norse poetry (the Eddas), the gallows are sometimes described as "horse of the hanged."
- [34] Maringer (1981: 191) mentions a similar find from Tågeborgshövden, Sweden.
- [35] The Kuban River flows northwest from the Caucasus to the Black and Azov Seas.
- [36] John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols," in Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), pp. 12–13, as cited in Elliott (1999: 51n61).
- [37] Also spelled Tängri, this is the Turkic celestial deity still worshipped by many peoples in Central and Inner Asia.
- [38] Cf. at note 11 above.

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1. Reconstruction of a seventh-century (Iron Age) horse sacrifice over a sacred bog at Lejre, Denmark. Nigel Pennick. (Jones and Pennick 1995: 138, Plate 8.1)



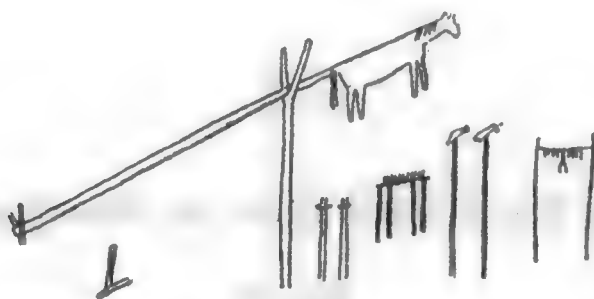
2. Reconstruction of a memorial service among the old Türks of the eastern Altai. (Ösawa 2002: 200, Fig. 15; after V. D. Kubarev, *Drevnetiurkskie izvaniya Altaya* [Novosibirsk: 1984], 80).



3. Altaic sacrificial setup with stuffed horse pelt, including head and hooves.
(Radloff 1968 [1893] II. 18, Tafel 1)



4. "Oïrot" horse sacrifice. (Boyle 1963: 205) This often reproduced (but seldom accurately attributed) photograph is from an article by Kurt Lubinski entitled "Bei den Schamanen der Urisibirier der Kampf der Sowjetunion gegen den Medizinmann" in the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* (November 25, 1928).



5. Drawing of a sacrificial scene on a shaman's magic drum from the Altai region. Aside from the horse pelt with head and hooves attached, there is also a rectangular offering table, two stakes with bird figures at the top, a cord with pendant objects, and so forth. (Harva 1938: 564 Abb. 107)

Images of the Hephthalites in Sino-Sogdian Art

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1. Historical Background of the Hephthalites

1.1 Who were the Hephthalites?

The Hephthalites were a tribe in Central Asia influential from the fifth to the seventh centuries. The term “Hephthalite” derives from Greek Ἑφθαλιται, supposedly a rendering of Hayathelite in Persian. It is named after King Hayathelite “厌带夷栗随”, who, according to *Liang Shu*, “Memoir of the Western Regions” (《梁书·西域传·滑国条》), sent envoys to China in 516. In China the tribe was called Yada (啞哒), in Korean “Yoptal”, which is certainly an archaic fossilisation. some years ago Helmut Humbach recognised the name of the Hephthalites in the abbreviation “eb” found on some of their coins. Recently Sims-Williams confirmed that by the full form “ebodalo” and its derivatives, which occur many times in the recently discovered Bactrian documents. (Sims-Williams: “The Hephthalites in the Bactrian Documents”, presented at the UCL conference, the Hephthalites Panel, July 2005, London.) After conquering Northern India, it was called “Sveta Huna” (White Huns) in Sanskrit, and “Chionitae” by Byzantine historians. Another name of the Hephthalites in China is “Hua”/“Huaton” 滑/滑国, Perhaps the phonetic translation of “Huns” (Huna); (Yu Taishan; 1986, 11), or perhaps “xoadēo” on its coins, meaning “king” in Bactrian language. (Lin Meicun; *The Western Regions of the Han-Tang Dynasties and the Chinese Civilization*, [Wenwu Publishing House, Beijing, 1998, pp. 139], when its centre was located in Vakhshu along the upper branch of Amu Darya.

The Hephthalites moved from the Altai Mountains to Sogdiana in the middle of the fourth century and later controlled Bactria in 438, where they started to use Greek-Bactrian scripts, evi-

denced by their coins. Recent excavations discovered the early Hephthalite site in the vicinity of Bukhara, and the Hephthalites' citadel Kuyok-Kala in the Amu Darya Delta, dated from the fifth to the eighth centuries. Around this time the Hephthalites submitted to the powerful nomadic Ruru (蠕蠕, 茹茹, 柔然, or Juan-juan [called Avars in Europe])^[1]. During the period 450–460, led by Khingila Khan, the Hephthalites conquered Kashmir, Kapisa, Gandhara, and in 458 they drove away the Kidhara Kushans^[2], and they thus controlled the Gupta Dynasty in northern India. According to *Luoyang Qielan Ji* (洛阳伽蓝记), at its peak, around the turn of the sixth century, the Hephthalite Empire “received contributions from forty surrounding countries, such as Dieluo/Zabulistan in the south, Chile/Gaoche in the north, Khotan in the east and Persian in the west.” (“受诸国贡献, 南至牒罗, 北尽敕勒(高车), 东被于阗, 西及波斯, 四十余国皆来朝贺”) The territory of the Hephthalite Empire at its peak was even larger than the Kushan Empire. (Yu Tais-han, 1986) A Sogdian pavilion dated in the reign of Khosrow I Anushīrvān (531–579) depicted four kingdoms on four walls, recorded in the 12th-century Persian literary work “Fasname”



Fig. 1. Map of the Hephthalite Empire in Northern Dynasties, by Tan Qixiang 谭其骧, 1985

(Grenet, 2004). The Hephthalite king was depicted in the north, accompanied by the Byzantine king in the west, the Chinese emperor in the east, and the Sasanian king in the south. Indeed, the Hephthalites had played an important role in Central Asia and northern India, and furthermore affected the West. Because of the one-hundred-year war between the Hephthalites and the Sasanids, the Byzantine Empire was released from the threat of the Sasanids in the Mediterranean region, and, meanwhile, Armenia won the freedom to keep its Christian religion under Sasanid rule. (Yu, 1986, p. 5) In 562 – 567, the Turk-Sasanian Persian alliance defeated the Hephthalites and divided their empire into two, along the Amu Darya, and thus the Hephthalites became a vassal kingdom of the Western Turk empire.

1.2 New visual materials depicting Hephthalites

Although from the fifth to the tenth centuries Chinese and Persian historical sources often mentioned Hephthalites, visual evidence of that people remains rare and enigmatic. Recently excavated Sogdian funerary monuments in China, dated to the Northern Dynasties (550 – 618), brought the image of the Hephthalites into the light again. Tombs of An Qie and Shi Jun were discovered in the vicinity of Xi'an in 2000 and 2003 respectively, where a painted stone couch and a stone sarcophagus were found. Along with the couch, earlier collected in the Miho Museum, and the Kooris couch exhibited at the Musée Guimet in 2004, these Sogdian stone artworks provide us comprehensive visual materials to study the cultural context of Central Asia and China during the second half of the sixth century. They vividly depict scenes of Sogdian people hunting, feasting, and entertaining, and show processions accompanied by nomadic figures, among whom some can be identified as Hephthalite (Juliano and Lerner, 1997). From studying these images we start to gain a better understanding of the Hephthalites, their costumes, and their drinking and hunting traditions.

2. Headgear of the Hephthalites

2.1 The bull-horn crown

According to Shi Jun's Sino-Sogdian epitaph, he was originally from the Sogdian state of Kesh (the modern city Shahari-Sabuz near Samarkand in Uzbekistan.) The stone panels of the Shi Jun

sarcophagus first drew my attention. In the upper section of the first northern panel, there is a male figure depicted sitting cross-legged and drinking in a tent, wearing a tiara, a long caftan with folded collar and tight sleeves, and a belt and boots. A circular carpet is depicted in front of the tent; an aged man wearing a felt cap, a knife hanging from his waist, and a tall cup in his hand, is drinking with the man in the tent. Beside them are three servants. The lower section depicts a caravan taking a rest.

It has been suggested that this figure in the tent was a nomadic chief who acted as the protector of the Sogdian caravans, meeting with the Sogdian caravan leader (Sabao), who sits on the carpet. He might be a Turk or Hephthalite (Rong Xinjiang, 2004, SOAS lecture). Judging from his headgear and the drinking posture, I would like to argue that he is a chief of the Hephthalites: they always wore long loose hair that ended in pigtails. On the other hand, the headgear of the Hephthalites was rather unusual: the main body of the tiara looks like a crescent moon or a bull's horn, with several big pearls underneath and above, in addition to a string of beads above the forehead and long ribbons behind the head, an unmistakable feature among all kinds of Central Asian ethnic groups.

A contemporary image of the Heph-

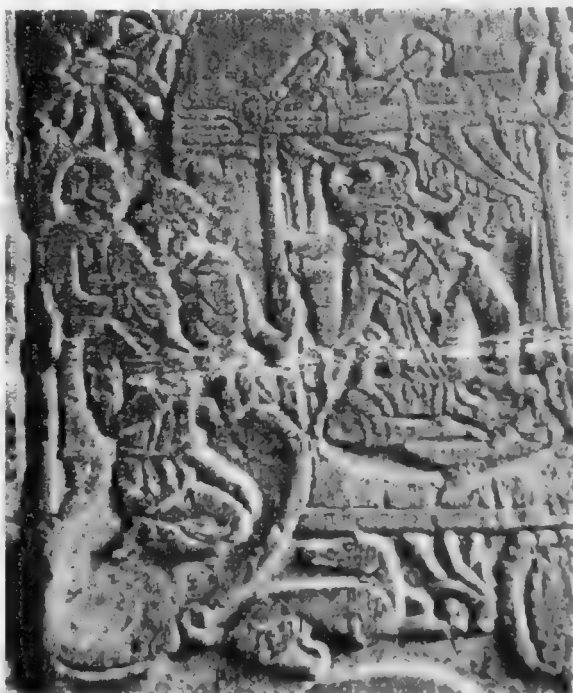


Figure 2. Shi Jun Panel



Figure 3. Hephthalite king on Gandhara coin

thalite king gives us suitable visual support: a Hephthalite coin discovered in Afghanistan/Gandhara, dated 475–576, now collected in the Museum of Baghdad, Iraq, depicts the profile of the Indo-Hephthalite King Napki Malka on the reverse side. The king's crown is heavily decorated and larger than his head, with a huge gold/silver crescent as the base of the crown, a bull's head with horns atop the crescent, and a string of beads tied above the forehead, plus some ribbons fluttering behind his neck. King Napki Malka died in 576 and Shi Jun's panel was made in 579 (according to its epitaph), in that precise period. The Hephthalites were the rulers of Sogdiana and Gandhara^[3], acting as nomadic protectors for caravans along the Silk Road. It is therefore certain that that type of headgear was allowed to be worn only by the khan of the Hephthalites, not by any other ethnic group, nor by an ordinary Hephthalite man. When it is compared with the images on the Hephthalites' bronze coins, the headgear of the first figure on panel N1 of Shi Jun can clearly be identified as Hephthalite.

Indeed, the Hephthalite headgear seen on Shi Jun's stone panel matches the historical record written in Chinese: In *Liang Shu*, "Xiyu Zhuan," the states of Hua: "The Hephthalite women wear fur coats and wooden horn headgear, as long as six feet, decorated in gold and silver." (《梁书·西域传·滑国》: 女人被裘, 头上刻木为角, 长六尺, 以金银饰之。) The Gandhara coin proves that the record is based on reality. Another record seems more theatrical: in *Luoyang Qielan Ji*, vol. 5, "Song Yun Xing Ji", it says: "The Hephthalite queen also wears silk robes and a horn as headgear, three feet long, tied with roses and colored beads." (《洛阳伽蓝记》卷五“宋云行纪”: “滑国王妃亦着锦衣, 头带一角, 长三尺, 以玫瑰五色珠装饰其上。”) If we observe the headgear of the Indo-Hephthalite king meticulously, we find that the details of the horn, beads, and ribbons coincide perfectly with the Chinese record.

Until 630 the characteristic Hephthalite coins, bearing an image of the local king who wears a bull-headed crown with horns, were still popular in Central Asia. As Frye points out, since the Hephthalites occupied a group of states that were united before and even after the fall of the Hephthalite Empire (562–567), namely Kapisa, Kashmir, and Bactria, those small states kept their independence and the Hephthalite tradition. The literary evidence can be found in *Beishi*, "Memoir of the Western Regions", 《北史·西域传》. In the early Sui Dynasty (605–617), "the Kapisa king sent tribute to Sui, who is of Hephthalite blood and wears the bull-headed gold crown". Interestingly, Xuanzang visited Kapisa in 630 and recorded in *Da Tang Xiyu Ji*, 《大唐西域记》, that this king was brave and powerful. (Ma Xiaohe, 2005)

2.2 Diadem with jewels

Marshak and Raspopova examined the hunting and riding figures beside the Turks seen on the Miho couch (in panels numbered PL5a, PL5d & PL6b and PL6c in the Miho catalog) and concluded that they are Hephthalites (figs. 4a, b). They can be distinguished by their special headgear: "The diadem with a jewel (or a knot) above the forehead and long ribbons behind the head is a headgear of the Hephthalite royalty in the Miho reliefs."^[4] It is noteworthy that the Miho couch indicates that the Hephthalite empire collapsed (562–567) under the attack of the Turks, thus the Turkic figures are the ones in charge, and the Hephthalite royalty had to be their submissive companions^[5]. This type of headgear matches the inscription of "Liang Zhi Gong Tu", 梁职贡图 [Picture of Liang Zhi Making Tribute] by Xiao Yi 萧绎: "The Hephthalites wear tight-sleeved caftans, and their diadems are decorated with gold and jade". ("着小袖长身袍,金玉为络带。") A similar record is also seen in *Liang Shu*, "Memoir of the Western Regions, State of Hua" (《梁书·西域传·滑国》).



Figure 4a. Miho hunt



Figure 4b. Miho elephant

Sogdian funerary monuments demonstrate the close relationship between Sogdian caravans and nomad leaders. For instance, we see Hephthalite figures on the couches/sarcophagus of Shi Jun and Miho, and Turkic images on the ones of An Qie, Miho, and Yu Hong. Relevant scenes in-

clude the meeting of the Sogdian Sabao and nomad leaders, drinking in a vineyard, pavilion, or a tent, hunting and entertaining together. As we see, along the Silk Road the Sogdian caravan had to go through desert and rocky mountains, where they often met robbers and enemy soldiers, and therefore they needed local nomads to give them protection. On the other hand, nomads welcomed the caravans, which brought their goods to sell and bestowed exotic gifts. Sometimes these multi-lingual Sogdian merchants were good diplomats for both the nomads and the Chinese. We note that according to *Zhou Shu*, in 545 the first ambassador of the Western Wei to visit the Turks was a Sogdian merchant, An Nuopantuo, (《周书》卷50《异域传》:“大统十一年,太祖遣酒泉胡安诺槃陀使(突厥)焉。”) In 567, when An Qie and Shi Jun were active in the Northern Dynasties, the Turks tried to sell a great amount of silk to the Byzantines, originally gained from the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou, and the caravan was led by a Sogdian merchant Maniach.

Although Shi Jun had gained his comfortable late years as Liangzhou Sabao and eventually was buried in Xi'an as an honourable governor, he never forgot how hard the caravan road was and what a successful career he had achieved. On his sarcophagus Shi Jun tells his children and grandchildren that when he was a caravan leader, he was a close friend of the Hephthalite khan, who drank and hunted together with him. This was the case also with the tomb owner of the Miho couch, who had been friendly with both the Turkic khan and the Hephthalite prince.

It is worth noting that more royal Hephthalite images with this headgear have been unearthed in Xinjiang, but unfortunately these have so far been ignored or misunderstood. One sample is a fragmented piece of a pottery vase (fig. 5a), discovered near Khotan, dated to the middle of the sixth century. The medallion depicts a man with an impressive moustache and glaring eyes who wears a crescent-shaped headgear with beads and ribbons. He looks quite similar to the Hephthalite images on the Miho couch, both having similar headgear and appearing fearsome, with moustaches. (He was mistakenly identified as “Brahman” in the



Figure 5a. Pottery fragment from Khotan

excavation report.) I believe he is a local Hephthalite leader of the time in Khotan. The record in *Luoyang Qielan Ji*, mentioned earlier, has proved that in the first half of the sixth century Khotan

was ruled by the Hephthalites. Furthermore, according to *Beishi*, “Memoir of the Western Regions, Record of Gaochang,” the Hephthalites conquered Karashar around 505 – 506 and gradually gained the whole Tarim Basin. (《北史·西域传·高昌传》: “初, 前部胡人悉为高车所徙, 入于焉耆, 又为哒哒所破灭, 国人分散, 众不自立, 请王于嘉。”)

Another example luckily was preserved fully: it is a three-handled pottery vase, with three large medallions decorating its body, recovered in 1992 – 93 from an Early Tang Buddhist temple, at the Yuwuluk site north of Kashgar. Furthermore, considering that all the vases are dated from the fifth to the seventh centuries and were discovered at famous Buddhist sites, including Yawuluk 亚吾鲁 temple and Asirhati-Maola 艾斯尔海提毛拉 hill both in Kashgar, and Yotgan 约特干 temple in Khotan, some were found along with Buddhist sutras written in Brahmi inscriptions (Lin Meicun: 1998, 232). As we know, the Hephthalites used Brahmi inscriptions when they conquered northern India. All of these traces strongly indicate that these Hephthalite pottery vases are associated with Buddhist culture, since Hephthalite Buddhists were active in Dunhuang and Xinjiang at the time. Jiang Boqin has found some inscriptions left in Dunhuang Cave 285 (dated to 539) that belong to Hephthalite Buddhist donors whose surname was “Hua”. (Jiang Boqin, *A History of Chinese Zoroastrian Art*, [Sanlian Shu Dian, Beijing.]2004. pp. 208) I suppose that these pottery vases were donated to Buddhist temples, for they contained wine or grape juice made by local Hephthalites. (Wine was a common drink in the Western Regions among Buddhist believers and grape juice was for monks. In 620 when Xuanzang arrived at Turpan and Suyab, the king of Gaochang and the Turk Khan noticed that he refused to drink wine, so they kindly offered him grape juice instead) In the three medallions three figures are depicted: the first is a female who kneels down with a ewer, offering wine in a silver bowl; the second is an old man who drinks wine from a rhyton; and the third is the face of a young man (fig. 5b) who has a characteristic moustache and crescent-shaped headgear, very similar to the Khotan image. I think this figure is also a local Hephthalite leader⁽⁶⁾.



Figure 5b. Pottery vase from Yawuluk

2.3 Simple diadem in the Tang period

After the fall of the Hephthalite Empire, this type of diadem survived, worn by figures on the wall paintings at the “Hall of Ambassadors,” at Afrasiab (ancient Samarkand). The paintings are depicted on all four of the walls. On the southern wall, in the Sogdian procession, there are two ambassadors on camel and horseback (fig. 6a); one has red skin and the other white; both have heavy beards and hair cut short, wear diadems in white and red, and hold sticks in their hands. The inscription shows that they came from Chaganyan or Čaγūniyān (赤鄂衍那), northeast of Tokharistan, the former Hephthalite state. On the western wall are depicted the Turks (judging from their long pigtails), with ambassadors from neighbouring countries including China, Chaganyan, and Korea (identified by their headgear, with two feathers on top). Among them, the Chaganyan envoys on the left wear diadems and fabulous silk garments decorated with *senmurv* (*simurgh*)—boar head and bird with ribbons—and hold silk in their hands. The inscription says “Chaganyan envoys, come to pay tribute to the Sogdian King Varkhuman” (fig. 6b).



Figure 6a. Afrasiab red and white ambassadors



Figure 6b. Afrasiab envoys from Chaganyan

In 650–656, during the time Varkhuman, appointed by the Tang emperor Gaozong, was the

Sogdian king, the Afrasiab paintings were being made. The last Sasanian royal family barely escaped from Persia as it was being invaded by the Arabs and settled in Tokharistan under the protection of the local Turkic leader. Scholars therefore believe that the Chaganyan envoys depicted were Sasanian representatives come to ask help from Varkhuman^[7].

I note that in the depiction, the Chaganyan envoys followed the Hephthalite tradition of wearing the diadem. Tokharistan had been ruled by the Hephthalites, and until the Tang Dynasty it still had Hephthalite inhabitants. According to *Ce Fu Yuan Gui* 《册府元龟》, vol. 961: "Tokharistan is located westwards of the Hindu Kush Mountains, where Hephthalites mixed together with Tokharians." ("吐火罗国在葱岭西,与怛怛杂居。") It seems that the Tang government paid attention to this remote state; according to *Ce Fu Yuan Gui*, vol. 964, "In 729, the Tang court appointed the Tokharian leader as Yehu Khan of Tokharistan and king of the Hephthalites". ("开元十七年,唐册吐火罗首领骨咄禄颉达度为吐火罗叶护,怛怛王。") At that time, Tokharians and Hephthalites also lived in Kashgar, Kucha and Karashar (Yanqi). Hephthalite culture gradually vanished since then, however, until the Gaochang Uyghur Kingdom (850 – 1250) period, when the last branch of the Hephthalites left their manuscripts, which were recently rediscovered in Turfan. (Klimkeit 1993)

3. Conclusion

During the second half of the sixth century, Sogdian migrants in China began to give up the ossuary burial tradition and instead started to build luxurious tombs, which contained lavish mural paintings and stone or marble carvings, which depicted the tomb owners banqueting, dancing and hunting. These funeral monuments were built not only to provide comfort in the tomb owner's afterlife, but also to exhibit to the public, since at the funeral ceremony many relatives and aristocrats would be invited to enter the tomb to appreciate the paintings and carvings and to pay respect to the sorrowing family. From this group of Sino-Sogdian narrative artworks we learn of the close relationship between the Sogdians and the Hephthalites, and its cultural, economic, and diplomatic context.

In this paper I also re-examine the Hephthalite images on pottery vases in Xinjiang and the others in the wall paintings of Afrasiab, identified by their special headgear and diadems, pointing out that the Hephthalite elements were widespread in Central Asian art since the sixth century, and, furthermore, that it was influential until the Early Tang period.

Notes

- [1] According to the inscription of "Liang Zhi Gong Tu" 梁职贡图 by Xiao Yi 萧绎: "Hua was a small state that once belonged to Ruru." Yu Taishan suggests the date of the inscription should be around 402 to 437.
- [2] Ma Xiaohu, "Studies of Khingila and Naspki Malka (馨摩与那色波王考)," *Journal of Eurasia Studies*, vol. 5, p. 20.
- [3] The Hephthalites (or *Hua*) established themselves in Afghanistan by the first half of the fifth century, with their capital at Bamiyan. The Indian emperor Skanda Gupta repelled a *Hua* invasion in 455, but the Hephthalites continued to pressure India's northwest frontier (present-day Pakistan), and broke through into northern India by the end of the fifth century, hastening the disintegration of the Gupta empire.
- [4] Valentina Rospopova, "Life and Artistic Conventions in the Reliefs on the Miho Couch", *Bulletin of Miho Museum*, vol. 4 (2004) 3, pp. 52-56
- [5] Since the Miho couch was bought from the art market, its precise date is unknown. However, Marshak suggests that, according to its stylistic iconography, it should be dated later than the Anyang couch but earlier than the An Qie one, around 556 to 570, when Yedu (Anyang), the capital of the Northern Qi, flourished.
- [6] Etsuko Kageyama has pointed out that these three-handled pottery vases from Khotan and Kashgar are technically similar to the three-handled bronze incense burner from Naryn, Kirghizstan, and the three-handled pottery ossuary from Toquz-sarai, Tumukchuk. She argues that the date for these pottery vases around 500-600 seems too early, since the Kirghiz bronze burner was found at a citadel dated in the later seventh to the early eighth centuries. Considering that the Hephthalite iconography was popular from the sixth to the seventh century, I believe the original dates of Khotan/Kashgar vases are correct, but the Kirghiz bronze burner might be a later copy of this prototype.
- [7] M. Compàrati (1993: 59-75) suggests that the person who wears the *senmurv* (*simurgh*) garment may be the last Sasanian Emperor Yazdigard III (632-651). But M. Compàrati (2004) believes that he could be a member of the Sasanian royal family sent by Prince Peroz, considering that the date of the Afrasiyab paintings is some years after the death of Yazdigard III.

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On the Meaning of the Dragon in the Paintings at Afrasyab (Ancient Samarkand)

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The Paintings at Afrasyab

The 7th century Sogdian paintings of the so-called "Hall of the Ambassadors" at Afrasyab have interested students of Central Asian art and archaeology since their discovery in 1965. In the last 40 years, the publication of several specific studies⁽¹⁾ has led to a conclusion commonly accepted by most scholars⁽²⁾ as to the general meaning of the scenes represented in the Afrasyab mural paintings. Such a solution is based mostly on observing these paintings and consulting literary texts found outside Sogdiana proper since the inscriptions found at Afrasyab⁽³⁾ were not enough to give detailed meaning to the entirety of the paintings in the "Hall of the Ambassadors".

The Western and Southern Walls (figs. 1 – 2) are in fact interpreted now as correlated to the local celebration of the Iranian New Year Festival (the *Nawruz*). Although the paintings on the Eastern Wall are preserved in a very fragmentary state, most scholars identify them as a representation of Indian scenes⁽⁴⁾. It is not clear whether also on this wall, there is a celebration of an Indian festival connected to the New Year.



Fig. 1: Grenet, Samibaev, 2002; 2—3. Reconstruction by F. ory.

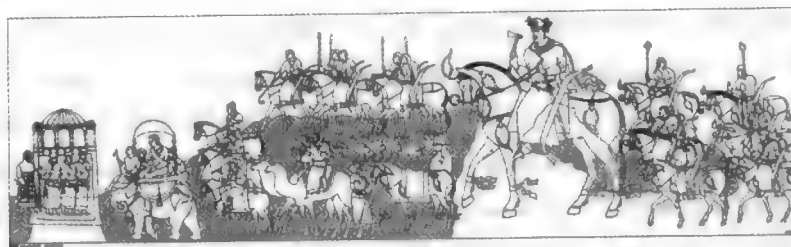


Fig. 2: <http://www.afasiab.org/ambassador2.html>. Reconstruction by F. ory.

The scene on the Northern Wall is a very elaborate one and a probable interpretation of it was recently proposed by S. Cristoforetti and the present writer⁽⁵⁾ (fig. 3). The left part of the scene



Fig. 3: Grenet, Samibaev, 2002: 6—7. Reconstruction by F. ory.

on the Northern Wall is linked to the celebration of *Duanwujie* (端午节) performed personally by the Chinese Empress Wu Zetian (690 – 705) and her attendants (fig. 4). In Gregorian calendri-



Fig. 4: Al'baum, 1975: fig. 21.

cal terms, the Duanwu Festival falls between May and June, that is to say, around the Summer Solstice. In 7th century Sogdiana also the *Nawruz* was celebrated around the Summer Solstice. The Sogdians probably represented *Duanwujie* on the Northern Wall at Afrasyab because during the 7th century this festival fell around the same period as their *Nawruz* and because the Chinese themselves considered *Duanwujie* (and, in some ways, they still consider it) as important as their own New Year festivity. In a word, in the Middle Kingdom the New Year Festival and *Duanwujie* were interchangeable as to importance. This point is clearly expressed by the auspicious folk pictures (*Nianhua*) exchanged in China during the New Year in modern times; among the scenes reproduced on the folk pictures, the usual auspicious children attired in Chinese garments also are performing *Duanwujie*⁽⁶⁾.

The right part of the scene on the Northern Wall at Afrasyab most likely represents the celebration of the Chinese New Year Festival performed by the Tang Emperor Gaozong (649 – 683). His figure can be discerned very easily since he is represented bigger in size than his attendants. But why did the Sogdians choose to represent a royal hunt in association with the New Year celebrations, since in modern China no hunt is performed? The answer can probably be found in Chinese texts. In fact, according to a 2nd century Chinese source, “*Western Metropolis Rhapsody*” (《西京赋》), the celebration of the New Year also implied an Imperial hunt for the Han people. It cannot be excluded that such an observance was still performed during the early Tang period, even if it is not possible to prove such an idea in a definitive way. However, it is exactly this moment of the celebration which is represented at Afrasyab⁽⁸⁾. The key for the correct identification of the painting on the Northern Wall at Afrasyab, in fact, is represented by the hunt itself. As observed above, in modern China no hunting is performed during the celebrations of the New Year, and for this reason the painting of the Northern Wall at Afrasyab could not have been interpreted correctly in the past. According to Chinese sources, several sacrifices very commonly were performed by the Emperor himself during important festivals in ancient times, in order to have prosperity or just a lucky year, and their memory is still preserved today. Some of these sacrifices were performed as an Imperial hunt⁽⁹⁾. The Sogdians definitely were attracted by the hunt, which was a martial occupation particularly suitable for an aristocrat like the Chinese Emperor and one of the most usual habits of the Iranian nobles as well⁽¹⁰⁾.

It is also quite probable that the Sogdian artist (or artists) who depicted the scenes at Afrasyab reproduced the Chinese celebrations only on the basis of oral or written descriptions or, most

likely, on the basis of one or more painted scrolls imported from the Middle Kingdom. Some observations support this view; the first point is that China was very far from Central Asia and not many Sogdians could have had the opportunity to visit the Tang capital Chang'an during the celebration of the New Year Festival and see the imperial court performing it. Then, in the case of a scroll or a description transmitted through other media, the attention of an Iranian would have been immediately attracted by something very familiar to his own culture, such as a royal hunt⁽¹¹⁾, and not an enigmatic procession or another specific celebration. The third point which cannot be excluded takes into consideration the possibility that the Chinese scroll (or scrolls) were imported into Sogdiana during a much earlier period, when the New Year imperial hunt was certainly still performed at court⁽¹²⁾. The same could have happened in the case of an oral or written story. As observed above, we do not know exactly when the Chinese gave up performing the New Year imperial hunts but, most likely, this practice was still in use during the early Tang, since it seems less probable that the Sogdians had no idea at all of such celebrations. Even if the majority of the common people in Central Asia could not have been knowledgeable about the exact nature of the celebration of the Chinese festivities, the Sogdian merchants who traveled to Chang'an could have imported news of it or even some scrolls painted on silk (or on paper), which were very easily transportable goods.

The Dragon at Afrasyab

In the scene depicted on the left part of the Northern Wall, a monstrous creature can be observed (fig. 4). It is depicted underneath the boat where the ladies are feeding the fishes (another important aspect of the *Duanwujie* celebration). It belongs to the type of polymorphous creatures; these are monsters depicted in Near Eastern and Classical art that combine many elements from different animals that really existed. The monster at Afrasyab has horns on its head; it is winged but in the rear it seems to have hooves like a horse, while the hindquarters end in a fish-like curly tail. Recently, the archaeologists Irina Arzhanyseva and Olga Inevatkina proposed a reconstruction of the dragon at Afrasyab which shows the monstrous face of the creature directed backward (fig. 5)⁽¹³⁾.

The iconography of the body of this monster definitely is rooted in Western Asian art and something similar can be observed also in Persia. A unique silver gilded bowl dated to the late Sasanian period (probably 6th - 7th century)⁽¹⁴⁾ is embellished with a fishing scene where also

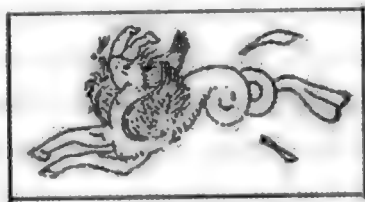


Fig. 5: I. Arzhantseva, O. Inevatkina. Reconstruction by T. Vasilenko(1978).

monstrous composite creatures take part together with other aquatic animals like fishes and ducks (fig. 6). The four monsters appear in the inner sector of the bowl and seem to form a square with



Fig. 6: Catalogue Roma, 2001: cat. 157.

their bodies around the central medallion embellished with a bird. They are identical to the monster in the painting at Afrasyab except for the rear parts, which can be identified as those of four distinct animals: an ibex, a ram, a horse and a lion. Undoubtedly, these monsters are reproduced

in the Persian bowl to signify the aquatic element. This treatment does not represent an Iranian invention but is rooted in a more ancient Near Eastern tradition.

Iranian art is strongly indebted in general to Mesopotamian culture^[15] and, in fact, in 8th century BC Assyrian reliefs we can observe winged monsters in the water in order to signify the aquatic element. One Assyrian relief is particularly interesting for this study: it is the one from the Royal Palace at Dur Sharrukin (Khorsabad, Iraq) requested by Sargon II (about 721–705 BC), now kept in the Louvre Museum^[16]. The relief in question shows the transportation of timber with the help of Phoenician ships (fig. 7). In the water around the ships several aquatic animals are

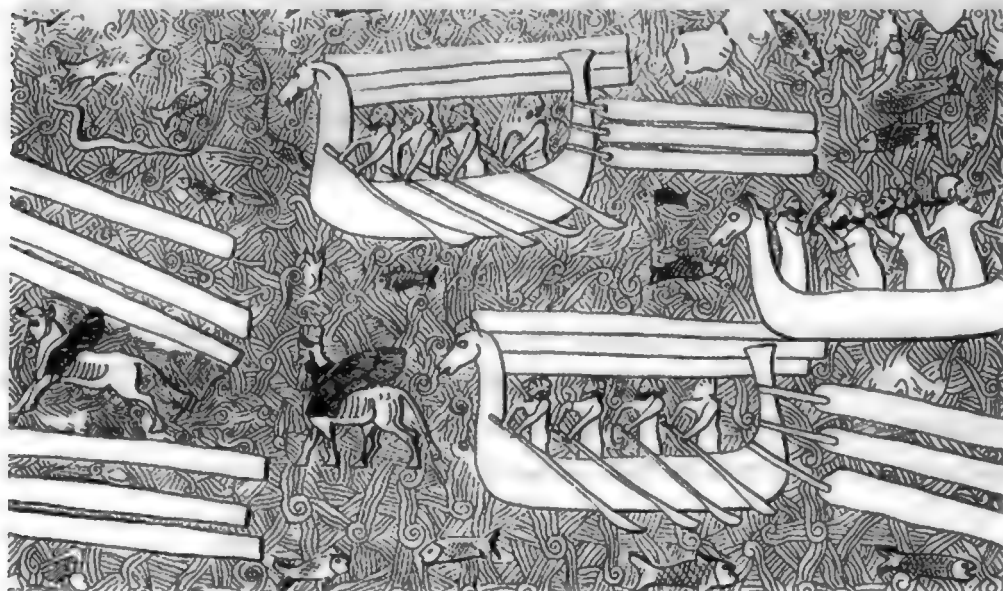


Fig. 7: M. H. Fantar, "I Fenici", in: *Storia del Mediterraneo nell'Antichità*, ed. M. Guidetti, Milano, 2004: 33, fig. 1.

reproduced together with monstrous creatures such as the winged bull, the winged bull with human head and also a man with the body of a fish. So, in Western Asiatic art, from a very ancient time, winged monsters could have meant the aquatic element even if, from a mere "naturalistic" point of view, wings and water would appear to be incompatible elements. The Persians and the Sogdians as well adopted this kind of association into their artistic milieu.

It is also worth noting that some pure Chinese dragons display characteristics in common with the monstrous creature at Afrasyab. In particular, there is the example of the scroll known as "*Luo shen fu tujian*" attributed to Gu Kaizhi (346–407)^[17]. Several aquatic monstrous creatures appear in this scroll, but the most interesting are the two white dragons following the boat

(fig. 8)⁽¹⁸⁾. The two creatures have thin bodies and very long red curly wings attached at the



Fig. 8: Gogong Bowuyuan , 1978: 14—15.

shoulder. The head is depicted in a curious way, with a horn and a long ear below, which recalls exactly the characteristic of the reconstructed dragon at Afrasyab (fig. 5). Then they have strange lips (almost a beak), which could be associated with the reconstruction of the dragon head reproduced on the boat on the Northern Wall at Afrasyab (fig. 9). The monsters in the scroll by Gu



. 9: I. Arzhantseva, O. Inevatkina. Reconstruction by T. Vasilenko(1978).

Kaizhi are among the first examples of aquatic winged creatures in Chinese painting. A very inter-

esting winged dragon emerging from the water, definitely based on Chinese iconography, was recovered in Temple 19 at the Buddhist site of Bezeklik (fig. 10). Considering the fact that in ancient times many Iranians lived around the Turfan area^[19], the dragon from Bezeklik could be cautiously considered linked to the monster at Afrasyab and to the ones in the painting by Gu Kaizhi especially because they are all represented in association with water. However, the Bezeklik painting is dated to the 9th – 10th century^[20], that is to say, when the Sogdians either were not numerous anymore in the Turfan area, or they were on the verge of being completely sinicized. A painted frieze from Kyzyl cave 198 is even more interesting because the procession of dragons presents also a monster with its rear part very similar to that of the dragon at Afrasyab, and its head also is turned backward (fig. 11). Two other dragons in Chinese art of the Tang period are worth mentioning, even though they are not reproduced in the water. One is a dragon represented on a painting on paper recovered at Dunhuang (fig. 12), the other is reproduced on a scroll attributed to Wu Daozi (8th century) (fig. 13). Both have a wide-open mouth with ev-



Fig. 10: Bussagli,
1979: 109



Fig. 11: Jia, Fei, 1993: fig. 209.



Fig. 12: Jin, 1988: 23.



Fig. 13: Jin, 1988: 35.

ident fangs and tongue, big ears and curved horns. The dragon attributed to Wu Daozi is very similar to the reconstruction of the monster at Afrasyab by I. Arzhantseva and O. Inevatkina and the head of the one from Dunhuang is even turned backward. It is worth noting that the wide-open mouth of the dragon recalls another Sogdian monster; the one reproduced in stucco in Temple II at Penjikent and normally considered an Indian Makara^[21].

A Possible Identification

Let us now turn back to some 2nd century Chinese sources. In the “*Western Metropolis Rhapsody*” (《西京赋》) and in the “*Administrative Ceremonials of Han Officialdom Selected for Use*” (《汉官典职式选用》), we read of some not-well-identified composite creatures mentioned in a procession during a festivity identified possibly with the Chinese New Year. These are the *Hanli* (舍利 called also *Sheli* 舍利), the *Bimu* fish (比目鱼) and several dragons (龙). The *Hanli/Sheli* is an enigmatic creature since it does not appear in ancient Chinese art and its shape is not described properly in the texts^[22]. The *Hanli/Sheli* is definitely the most interesting among the three creatures. It seems that together with the dragon this is another auspicious creature of Chinese mythology whose appearance was necessary in order to have a lucky year. During the New Year celebration, the *Hanli/Sheli* entered the water and underwent two transformations: first it became the *Bimu* fish (a fish with two bodies but only one eye (fig. 14^[23])) and then a dragon. In the “*Western Metropolis Rhapsody*” another procession of fishes and dragons is described after the transformations of the *Hanli/Sheli*^[24] while actors and acrobats perform several games. This moment of the New Year celebration is represented in one of the stone engravings of the Yi'nan tomb

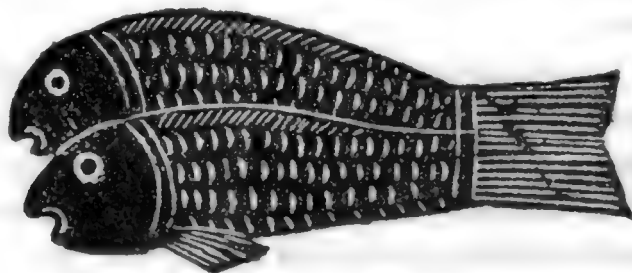


Fig. 14: Willets, 1968: fig. 34.

(Shandong Province) dated to the Eastern Han period (more precisely to the late 2nd century)⁽²⁵⁾, but it is not clear if among the several monstrous creatures represented in these reliefs there is also a realization of the *Hanli/Sheli* (fig. 15).



Fig. 15: Berger, 1998: fig. 9.

Most likely, it is precisely one of the fabulous creatures reported in the sources mentioned above, the one reproduced under the boat in the Chinese scene at Afrasyab. Its iconography can be considered a mixture of Chinese and Iranian elements. Its presence in the left part of the Northern Wall scene apparently could be considered an intrusion, since it should have appeared in the New Year procession and not where the *Duanwu* scene is. It could be argued that in Afrasyab paintings it does not represent the moment of the procession but the immediate preceding phase, that is, the imperial hunt.

The Sogdian artist who realized this work probably had at his disposal an original Chinese scroll (or a written report or both) but he chose just the most significant elements to be reproduced in the wall paintings. It could be argued that he even saw this representation in China but this is

less convincing since it does not explain the use of a kind of monster reproduced also according to Iranian artistic canons.

The painter or the team of painters working at Afrasyab could have associated the composite winged creature with the aquatic element because this was normal in China and also because in Iranian culture a composite dragon-like monster is often reported in some sources as connected with water^[26]. There is then another enigmatic monstrous winged creature which appears often in Iranian art (mainly Sasanian and Sogdian) that has some links with water (figs. 16 and 17). This is the so-called *Senmurv* (in Middle Persian) or *Simurgh* (in Persian) which has



Fig. 16: Sun, 1996: 171, fig. 12.1.

Fig. 17: M. Mode, "Court Art of Sogdian Samarkand in the 7th Century AD":

<http://www.orientarch.uni-halle.de/ca/afra/text/w4b.htm>

been proposed by A. Bausani and B. Marshak^[27] to be identified more correctly with the representation of the Iranian concept of Divine Glory (*Farr*, *Farra* or *Khorra* in Persian, *Khwarrah* in Middle Persian, *Khwarnah* in Avestan and *Farn* in Sogdian). According to the Iranian conception, which was reported only in Persian texts of the Islamic period^[28], when the Divine Glory abandons someone (normally a hero or a royal figure), it escapes from him and drops into the sea.

Conclusion

The Sogdian artist who worked at Afrasyab gave a correct interpretation of the Chinese com-

posite monster as an aquatic creature and so he represented it in the water under the boat of the Empress with her attendants, even if it should have originally pertained to the right part of the scene of the Northern Wall at Afrasyab. As already observed above, this part of the painting is possibly a representation of a particular moment of the Chinese New Year Festival as performed by the Tang Emperor combined with *Duanwujie* performed by the Empress. It is worth remembering that the procession of actors masked as a long dragon is still today one of the main symbols of the New Year festival in China and in the numerous Chinese communities abroad^[29]. The dragon in fact is one of the most important mythological creatures in China described in literature and arts and its connection with water is well known^[30]. It is not possible to identify the monster at Afrasyab specifically with the dragon of the Chinese sources, because the *Hanli Sheli* also is a good candidate, but it is interesting to note that the memory of monstrous creatures participating in the celebration of the New Year in the Middle Kingdom survived also in the arts of other regions of Asia far away from China.

Notes

- [1] Al'baum, 1975; Majtdinova, 1984; Silvi Antonini, 1989; Mode, 1993; Marshak, 1994; Motov, 1999; Kageyama, 2002; Grenet, Samibaev, 2002; Grenet, 2003; Silvi Antonini, 2003: 172 – 185; Yatsenko, 2004; Compareti, Cristoforetti, 2005; Compareti, 2004; Grenet, forthcoming.
- [2] The main discordant hypothesis in respect to the one commonly accepted was advanced by: Mode, 1993.
- [3] Livshits, 2005.
- [4] Grenet, 2003. In Compareti, 2005.
- [5] Compareti, Cristoforetti, 2005; Compareti, 2005.
- [6] Rudova, 1969: 258 – 261.
- [7] Knechtges, 1982: 205 – 235.
- [8] For a detailed study on this topic see: Compareti, 2005.
- [9] Bodde, 1975: 57, 161, 327 – 339, 357. On a probable connection between *Duanwujie* and a kind of hunting: Compareti, Cristoforetti, 2005: 216, n. 3.
- [10] It should not be forgotten that during the 7th century, the Tang extended their protectorate (more or less nominally) over the whole of Central Asia, and Sogdiana was annexed as well; Compareti, 2002: 376 – 377. Emperor Taizong (626 – 649) was criticized by his ministers because of his love for hunts performed according to the habits of the Central Asians; Marshak, 2004: 47. Gaozong is normally considered in Chinese historiography a weak emperor not adept at hunting. As Mao Min kindly suggested to me, it could

- be argued that for this reason the figure of the Chinese emperor at Afrasyab could be considered the portrait of another emperor, like Taizong, who, as observed above, loved imperial hunts. So, if the royal figure at Afrasyab was copied from a painted scroll, this one could be dated to the period of Taizong, and it could be considered actually a portrait of Taizong himself. Even if Gaozong does not appear to be a particularly weak emperor in the first ten years of his reign, he always avoided imperial hunts: Twitchett, Wechsler, 1979: 242.
- [11] Royal hunts can be observed very often in Sogdian paintings at Panjikent: Marshak, Raspopova; 1990. Among the first examples of Sogdian painting recovered at Jar Tepe (6th century), there is the representation of a royal hunt: Berdimuradov, Samibaev, 2001: fig. 4.
- [12] Compareti, 2005.
- [13] Arzhantseva, Inevatkina, 2005.
- [14] The bowl is kept in the Tehran National Museum, and it was shown for the first time outside of Iran on the occasion of a recent exhibition: Catalogue Roma, 2001: cat. 157. The metalwork is said to have been found in the Caspian region where Sasanian traditions were kept longer than in Persia proper after the Arab invasion. During a recent visit in Italy, Prof. Marshak expressed some doubts on the Sasanian attribution of this metalwork.
- [15] Even divinities typical of the Mesopotamian area found many followers in Central Asia, as in the case of the goddess Nana, who was much venerated in Sogdiana as well: Tanabe, 1995.
- [16] Parrot, 1981: figs. 48, 267; Matthiae, 1996: 114 – 115, fig. 6.5.
- [17] Gugong Bowuyuan Cang huaji bianji weiyuanhui bian, 1978: 2 – 19. A copy of this famous scroll dated to the 14th century is kept in the British Museum; Watson, 1981: fig. 134.
- [18] This is probably a double representation of the *qilin* 麒麟 (usually translated as “unicorn”), another mythical creature already observed at least in two cases in 6th-century Chinese art: Yang, 2000: fig. 6.
- [19] Rong, 2000: 123 – 126; de la Vaissière, 2002: 130 – 140, 311 – 327.
- [20] Bussagli, 1979: 109.
- [21] Skulptura i zhivopis drevnego Pjandzhikenta, 1959: pl. XXXII.
- [22] Bodde, 1975: 152 – 155.
- [23] The figure was taken from; Willets, 1968: fig. 34, but it is referred to a much later period. For a possible representation of this fantastic creature on a painted vessel found in the 3rd century tomb of Zhu Ran (Anhui Province): Yang, 1986: fig. 4. See also; Sun, 1996: 169, fig. 10.1.
- [24] Bodde, 1975: 160 – 161. For a critical analysis of Bodde's view: Knechtges, 1982: 230 – 233.
- [25] Berger, 1998: 50 – 52.
- [26] Scarcia, 1980; Panaino, 1995: 44, n. 50, 54, 94; Cristoforetti, 2002: 300 – 305; Cristoforetti, forthcoming. It is worth noting that in Iranian culture there is a clear connection between the horse and water. In some Chinese sources the dragon is considered the generator of superior horses; Harrist, 1997: 20.

- [27] Bausani, 1978: 318; Marshak, 2002: 37. See also; Schmidt, 1980. An iconography very similar to the one of the dragon at Afrasyab can be noticed in other Sogdian paintings from Penjikent where it is adopted in some cases to depict the "real" *Senmurv* of Iranian texts, in other cases to depict the Divine Glory: Azarpay, 1975. The situation of the studies on this topic was recently summarized in; Compareti, forthcoming. b. In his translation of Chinese poetical texts, D. Knechtges adopted the name "*Simurgh*-banners" to translate "*Luanqi* 鸾旗 banners". *Luanqi* is a bird described as similar to the phoenix; Knechtges, 1982: 272 – 273. Knechtges does not say why he decided to take the name "*Simurgh*" to translate the term; most likely he was aware of this Iranian monster only from its representations in miniatures where the *Simurgh* definitely had the attributes of a Chinese phoenix; Compareti, forthcoming. b.
- [28] Bausani, 1978: 318.
- [29] Bodde, 1975: 159.
- [30] De Visser, 1969; Rawson, 1984; Wang, 1987; Acker, 1974: 176.

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摩尼教神“净风”、“惠明”异同考

芮 传 明

汉文或非汉文的各种摩尼教经典在描绘创世神祇时,经常出现诸多神名,其中,“净风”、“净法风”、“惠明”、“广大心”、“Living Spirit”、“Great Nous”、“Light Mind”、“Nom Quti”等,大致可以分成两大类:汉文的净风、净法风应该相当于西文的 Living Spirit;汉文的惠明则应相当于西文的 Great Nous、Light Mind 及 Nom Quti 等。但是,有的学者却认为净风即是惠明;或者,惠明即是先意(the First Man),即第三使(The Third Messenger)等^[1]。诸说的根据不尽相同,但是古代汉文典籍的一条简单记载,却在导致这些说法时,起了很大作用。即,《摩尼教残经》^[2]引《应轮经》而明确断言:“若电那勿等身具善法,光明父子及净法风,皆于身中每常游止。其明父者,即是明界无上明尊;其明子者,即是日月光明;净法风者,即是惠明。”这里的“净法风”即“净风”的异名,也就是说,此语清楚地建立了“净风=惠明”等式。然而,事实却并不如此简单,本文认为,净风与惠明属于两个神,只是二者关系密切,既有相异处,也有相同处。兹就这一问题辨析和解释如下。

一 汉文典籍有关“净风”、“惠明”的记载

尽管《残经》引用了《应轮经》,但是它在详细描绘摩尼教的创世业绩时,分别使用了“净风”和“惠明”之名,谈到了二者在不同的时期创造了不同的伟迹,乃至给人以强烈的印象:净风和惠明是摩尼教中职司相异的两位主神。兹概括《残经》的描述如次:

首先谈及的是净风与善母拯救光明分子,创立世界的事迹:“汝等当知,即此世界未立已前,净风、善母二光明使,入于暗坑无明境界,拔擢、骁健、常胜,□□□大智甲五分明身,策持升进,令出五坑。其五类魔,黏五明身,如蝇著蜜,如鸟被藕,如鱼吞钩。以是义故,净风明使以五类魔及五明身;二力和合,造成世界——十天八地。如是世界,即是明身医疗药堂,亦是暗魔禁系牢狱。其彼净风及善母等,以巧方便,安立十天;次置业轮及日月宫,并下八地、三衣、三轮,乃至三灾、铁围四院、未劳俱孚山,及诸小山、大海、江河,作如是等,建立世界。”“其

彼净风,取五类魔,于十三种光明净体,囚禁束缚,不令自在。”“又复净风造二明船,于生死海运渡善子,达于本界,令光明性究竟安乐。”

其后则详细描述惠明如何砍伐五毒死树,解救被贪魔囚禁的五种净体“相、心、念、思、意”等事迹:“以是义故,惠明大智,以善方便,于此肉身,铨救明性,令得解脱。于己五体,化出五施,资益明性。”“先从明相,化出怜愍,加彼净气;次从明心,化出诚信,加彼净风;又从明念^[3],化出具足,加被明力;又于明思,化出忍辱,加被净水;又于明意,化出智慧,加被净火。”“或时故人兵众退败,惠明法相宽泰而游。至于新人五种世界无量国土,乃入清静微妙相城。于其宝殿敷置法座,安处其中;乃至心、念、思、意等城,亦复如是,一一遍入。”“当即惠明引己明军、清静眷属,直至明界,究竟无畏,常受快乐。”

“惠明大使入此世界,颠倒邪城,屈曲聚落,坏朽故宅,至于魔宫。……时惠明使先取膏腴肥壤好地,以己光明无上种子,种之于中;又于己体脱出模样,及诸珍宝,为自饶益,大利兴生,种种庄严,具足内性,以为依柱。真实种子,依因此柱,得出五重无明暗坑,犹如大界。”

“于是惠明善巧田人,以恶无明崎岖五地而平填之。先除荆棘及诸毒草,以火焚烧;次当诛伐五种毒树。其五暗地,既平珍已,即为新人置立殿堂及诸宫室;于其园中,栽蒔种种香花宝树;然后乃为自身庄严宫室、宝座台殿,次为左右无数众等亦造宫室。其惠明使,以自威神,建立如是种种成就;又翻毒恶贪欲暗地,令其颠倒。于是明性五种净体,渐得申畅。其五体者,则相、心、念、思、意。是时惠明使于其清静五重宝地,栽蒔五种光明胜誉无上宝树;复于五种光明宝台,燃五常住光明宝灯。”

从以上引文中不难看出,净风的主要业绩在于和善母一起,率领“五子”,解救被暗魔所困的先意,击败诸魔,创造天、地、日、月等;而惠明的主要业绩则是解救人体中的“五种净体”,即摒除受暗魔影响的相、心、念、思、意,确立光明的相、心、念、思、意,把“故人”改造成“新人”,令光明分子重返明界。在此,很难体会到“净风=惠明”。

二 西文典籍有关“Living Spirit”、“Light Mind”的记载

撰于公元8世纪末的一本叙利亚文著作描述了“Living Spirit”(意译可作“活灵”)的面世及其业绩:

他(指大明尊——引者)进行第二次召唤,召唤出了明友(Friend of Light);明友召唤出了大般(Great Bān);大般召唤出了活灵(Living Spirit);活灵还召唤出了他的五子,即……

他们来到黑暗国土,找到了初人(Primal Man)本身,及其被暗魔吞下的五子。活灵随后呼喊,活灵的呼声犹如利剑,令初人之形显现。……

于是,活灵命令他的三个儿子,一个去杀死暗魔诸子,另两个剥去其皮,并将它们送给善母(Mother of the Living)。善母用魔子之皮铺在上空,于是造成十天。活灵诸子将魔子的尸身丢入暗土,于是造成八地。……

然后,活灵在暗魔诸子面前显现,他净化了被魔子们吞食的五明神含有的光明分子,将其制成太阳、月亮和成千上万的星辰。他还制成了风轮、水轮与火轮。……^[4]

科普特文的摩尼教赞美诗(约撰于4世纪下半叶)以大明尊之“次子”的名号,也谈到了活灵的业绩:

初人结束战争后,/父尊便派遣第二子。/他应召前来,助其弟兄脱离暗狱。/他用光明与黑暗的混合物,/创建了整个世界。/他将深渊诸魔散布于十天、八地,/他把它们禁闭在此,使之成为一切暗魔之狱;/此界也是被暗魔吞食诸魂的净化之所。/他创造了太阳与月亮,将其送往上天,/以净化灵魂。每天,经过精练的灵魂/上升天庭,渣滓则被丢弃下界……^[5]

显然,以上两段引文所描述的“活灵”的业绩,与汉文《残经》中“净风”的作为十分类似,所以,若将汉文典籍中的“净风”比同于西文典籍中的“活灵(Living Spirit)”,当无疑问。

此外,吐鲁番发现的一份中古波斯文的摩尼教文书,则更具体地描绘了活灵创建世界的各项业绩:

他们(指活灵与善母——引者)将七个天体固定在苍穹上,并将二龙(当指月亮交点——引者)也悬挂其上,固定之。他们将其挂在最下一层天空上,为了使之在呼唤神的上方不停地旋转,他们委任了两名天使,一男一女。……活灵首先制造了由火、光构成的太阳战车、由以太、空气、光、水、火组成的五堵墙、十二扇大门、五所房屋、三个宝座,以及聚集火墙之内灵魂的五位天使。此外,他制造了由风、水构成的月亮战车、由以太、空气、光、水、火组成的五堵墙、十四扇大门、五所房屋、三个宝座,以及聚集水墙之内灵魂的五位天使。……活灵穿着由纯净之光构成的三件外衣,下临黑暗之地。……他在黑暗大地上方建造了另外四层大地,即热风地、暗地、火地与水地,犹如上方的各层天空一样。……他用一道墙护卫着诸层大地,始自光明大地,通向南方、东方、西方,然后绕回光明大地。他还制造了另一大地,置于诸层大地上方。然后,他任命思想神为“房主”。

在这一大地之上,他还建造了三根柱子和五个圆拱,位于面向东、南、西的另一堵墙内,分成三个区域。……他建造了具有十二大门的坚实大地,这些大门相当于诸天之门。环绕着这一大地,他建造了四堵围墙与五道壕沟。他将暗魔禁闭在内环的三道壕沟中。然后,他将最低层的天空置于思想神的头上,将七个方形柱子置于他的手中,以将黄道系在其上。他将这一大地置于柱子和圆拱上,将两堵墙置于思想神的双肩上。

然后,他将拱顶安装在最高的墙上,此墙通往东、南、西以及光明大地上方的北方。在马兹曼大地之上,壕沟之侧,他建造了另外两层大地,都有大门、各种渠道和地下沟渠,以提升大量风、水、火。在此大地右侧,他建造了一堵墙,具有四处大门。他设置了四名天使在四方擎持最低一层的天空,犹如上方诸层一样。^[6]

从以上所引诸条看来,活灵的职能似乎主要集中在创建天、地;其时间是在帮助先意脱困后,协助者则是善母。

另一本科普特文著述《导师的克弗来亚》(“克弗来亚”意为“纲目”、“章节”、“要义”)则描述了名为“明心”(Light Mind)的一位神祇,谈及他如何解救被“邪罪”(Sin)禁锢在人体内的灵魂(即光明分子了),以及如何创造新人(new man):

人体之内亦然如此!一股强大的邪力,尽管体积很小,这个邪罪居于体内,居于旧人(old man)体内。旧人确实残酷、狡诈,直到明心懂得如何挫败肉体,将邪罪驱赶出去。……

邪罪建构了肉体,但其灵魂仍然来自光明之神。邪罪将灵魂禁锢在肉身的五体之内:才思(mind)禁锢于骨,思想(thought)禁锢于筋,洞察力(insight)禁锢于脉,慎思(counsel)禁锢于肉,熟虑(consideration)禁锢于皮。……

灵魂因此犯错,记忆全失。它忘却本性,忘却本族、本亲;再也不知向明尊祈祷的门户在哪里,也不知如何向明尊呼救。它变得与明尊反目为仇……

明心前来,发现灵魂……他将灵魂的才思从骨中解救出来。他将灵魂的思想从筋中解救出来;同时将邪罪的思想禁于筋中。他将灵魂的洞察力从脉中解救出来;同时将邪罪的洞察力禁于脉中。他将灵魂的慎思从肉中解救出来;同时将邪罪的慎思禁于肉内。他将灵魂的熟虑解救出来,同时将邪罪的熟虑禁于皮内。……

他将使灵魂的五体恢复正常,净化它们,创造灵魂的新人,正直的孩童。……他将其五体注入新人的五体:将其才思(是为爱)置入新人的才思;将其思想(是为信)置入新人的思想;将其洞察力(是为完美)置入新人的洞察力;将其慎思(是为忍)置入新人的慎思;将其熟虑(是为智)置入新人的熟虑。……^[7]

从这段引文看来,“明心”的作为与汉文《残经》所载“惠明”的举止几乎完全一样:这里的旧人、新人、才思—思想—洞察力—慎思—熟虑、爱—信—完美—忍—智等,可以一一对应于汉文《残经》中的故人、新人、相—心—念—思—意(五体)、怜愍—诚信—具足—忍辱—智慧等。因此,若以西文中的“明心”(Light Mind)对应汉文典籍中的“惠明”,应该没有问题。

另一方面,就西文资料对于明心的诸多描述来看,这位神祇的主要职责在于解救人类的灵魂,他的业绩多与人的精神与感知相关。例如,科普特文赞美诗载云:

啊,明心,我心中的太阳。……我灵魂的光明。/你是我的见证者,除了你,没人能

够安慰我。啊,明心! /我不曾屈服,我的敌人就不会嘲笑我。啊,明心! /我将用坚信之油,始终维持着你所点亮的灯。啊,明心! /在我内心的人,就如你的貌形。啊,明心! /在我外部的人,就通过你的话而接受恩赐。/我的精神就是你的宿地,我的灵魂就是你的乐处。/……你就如伟大世界的父尊。啊,明心! /这世界是……;你的父尊未曾……/……你是我灵魂的君主。啊,明心! /我在平时护卫你,你在最终保护我。啊,明心! /我曾为你而献身,神啊;而你现在为我而……/因为你是我的依赖和希望,除了你,没人再来保护我。^[8]

又如,《导师的克弗来亚》载云:

人体犹如强大的营地。拥有卫兵的营地大门即如人体的七窍和器官。七窍具有看、听、嗅、说的功能。……明心以其智慧、敬畏和勤奋,降服了人体七窍的守卫,使得以前只向贪欲开放,只接受悦目之景、生活之语、美食之味、不洁之食的七窍,拒绝这些罪过,心灵亦然随之。由于正直人体的门已在了明心手中,故而人能接受令神高兴的一切信息了。他现在能看见爱 and 正义的景象。……他现在始终爱听正直教诲之声、赞美诗和祈祷之语,以及慈善的知识。总而言之,以前只向邪恶开放的七窍,如今只向善良开放了。^[9]

不难看出,明心所司之职,主要集中在“人”,而活灵所司之职,如前文所引,则主要集中在“天地”;二者的职能似乎并不相同。至此,我们能够认可的比定关系至多是汉文与西文资料中的神名对应,即:净风=活灵(Living Spirit);惠明=明心(Light Mind);而对于《应轮经》所言的“净风=惠明”,却仍然未见可信的证据。相反,却有更多的资料显示,Living Spirit 和 Light Mind 亦如净风和惠明一样,是在不同时段显现的不同神祇。

三 中西典籍有关二神相异的记述

细析西文典籍,实际上可以发现许多例证,表明活灵(Living Spirit)和明心(Light Mind)是有所区别的两种神祇。兹据《导师的克弗来亚》引述数例,以为佐证。

《克弗来亚》第9章解释了人世间五种致敬礼仪的来源,即:“平安祝福礼”(peace)、“右手致敬礼”(right hand)、“亲吻拥抱礼”(kiss)、“跪拜鞠躬礼”(salutation)、“摩顶祝福礼”(laying on of hands)等。这五种致敬礼仪最初出现在神界:天神们在送别和迎回先意(First Man)时,先后两次施行这些礼敬;送别时的礼敬主要由善母(Mother of Life)施行,迎接时的礼敬主要由活灵施行。而在人世俗界的五种致敬礼,则全部由明心施行。

最初的平安祝福礼是由明界的诸神和天使们给予先意的,当时,他正准备出发,抗击暗魔仇敌。诸神和天使们伴他行进,护送着他,向他施行平安礼,给予他威力、祝福和

防御力。……最初的右手致敬礼是由善母给予先意的,当时,他正要出发去战斗。最初的亲吻拥抱礼是善母在拥抱先意时给予他的,当时,他正与她分手,前赴下界与暗魔战斗。……最初的跪拜鞠躬礼是先意前赴下界战斗时施行的。他屈跪双膝,向真理之神以及与之同类的一切光明神祇致敬。最初的摩顶祝福礼是由善母给予先意的。她武装了他,使之孔武有力。她双手摩其头顶,送他出发去战斗。……

同样地,当先意战后归来,来到本界时,也受到了这五种神奇的礼敬。他上登明界后得到的平安祝福礼,是由生命之父(Father of Life,即活灵——引者)派遣的召唤神给予他的。……第二次右手致敬礼是由活灵给予先意的,当时,活灵正带着他脱离搏杀,上赴明界。……第二次亲吻拥抱礼是生命之父和善母拥抱先意时给予他的,当时,他正离开下界的搏斗而上赴明界。……第二次跪拜鞠躬礼是由先意向真理之神以及明界的一切神祇施行的,当时,生命之父和善母将先意带离了暗狱之战,上赴明界。……第二次摩顶祝福礼的情况是这样的:活灵将先意带离战争,上赴明界,使之免一切波涛的冲击。他带先意上赴天境,让他舒心地安顿在属于本类的伟大明界。他使他稳稳地晋见全能之主大明尊。如今,当先意晋见大明尊时,从高处向他发出一个声音:“让我的儿子,我的第一个儿子,坐在我的右侧,直到我将他所有的敌人置于他脚下的矮凳下。”先意接受了大明尊的摩顶祝福礼,从而将成为新界同胞们的领袖。……

这五种神奇的礼敬和这五种姿势,首先来自神界,然后因一位使徒的传播而显现在凡俗世界。人类受其指教而懂得了它们,开始流行这五种礼敬,但这奇迹在开初时并不见于暗魔世界中。来到尘世的明心,也使用这几种姿势,他利用这五种礼敬而选择其教会。首先,他用平安祝福礼选择教会。他先给予人类以平安祝福礼,接受平安祝福礼的人便成为平和祥瑞的弟子,笃信本教。当他接受平安祝福礼后,还会接受右手致敬礼。此后,明心便会亲近他,使他参加教会。接受右手致敬礼后,他再接受亲吻拥抱礼,成为教会的弟子。在亲吻拥抱礼后,他将施行跪拜鞠躬礼,向真理之神、神圣教会致敬。……在施行平安祝福礼、右手致敬礼、亲吻拥抱礼和跪拜鞠躬礼后……他们还施行摩顶祝福礼,头顶受到按摩。……他们以这些优良的姿势晋见明心,成为具足之人。他们向真理之神致敬,赞美他的荣耀。^[10]

在此,我们可以清楚地看到,这五种致敬礼的源流出于神界,即摩尼教神学中的“明界”。五种致敬礼在神界则施行过两次:一次是在先意出发与暗魔交战前,施行者是诸神、天使、善母、先意;另一次是在先意与暗魔交战归来后,施行者是活灵(净风)、善母、先意、大明尊。在人世凡俗最早施行五种致敬礼的,是明尊派遣的使者明心,亦即汉文典籍中的“惠明”。所以,按这段科普特文经典内容来看,净风与惠明显然是两种神祇。

再以《克弗来亚》第11章为例:摩尼教神学中有许多“明父”(Fathers of Light),他们几乎

都是主神之一。而活灵(=净风)和明心(=惠明)则被列为不同的明父:

导师又说道:亲爱的,或许你们正好知道,每一种恩典之始都是伟大的明父,因为所有的恩典都由明父之手亲自授予。

每一种祝福和祈祷之始即是善母,最早的圣灵。每一种善良忠告之始即是第三使,亦即位于明界的荣耀之国的国王,……光明之王。每一种□□与光荣之始即是明友,他受到尊崇。一切设阱捕兽者和猎人之始即是先意。所有□□和斗士之始即是活灵,生命之父,他委派其五个儿子驻防各地。一切建筑师和营造者之始即是大般,他十分显赫。所有的伟大守护者之始即是光耀柱……一切引渡者之始即是显赫夷数,亦即解救属于……的任何人的救助者。每种真理智慧之始即是明女,……所有最伟大的荣耀者之始即是明心,他是沉睡人的唤醒者、分散人的召集者。

保佑那些将这珍宝藏于体内,将明父们的知识牢记于心的人。^[11]

显然,善母(Mother of Life)、第三使(Third Ambassador)、明友(Beloved of the Lights)、先意(First Man)、活灵(Living Spirit)、大般(Great Builder)、光耀柱(Pillar of Glory)、显赫夷数(Jesus the Splendour)、明女(Virgin of Light)以及明心(Light Mind)都是“明父”,那么,净风(=活灵)与惠明(=明心)并非同一神灵,也就不言而喻了。

仍以《克弗来亚》为例,第28章谈及,大明尊派遣了12名判官,而活灵与明心都分别位列其中:

他(指导师摩尼——引者)再次再其弟子们说道:有十二位判官,是伟大而强有力的审判者!他们受尊贵的大明尊派遣而来到这里。他们奉大明尊之命,负责不同的职司,担任这十二个判官。……

第一位判官是先意,最初他令暗魔遭受耻辱。他按照正义审判了暗魔;他因对付不隶属于自己的魔界而声誉鹊起。第二位判官是活灵,他来到这里,使人类振奋精神。他也对一切黑暗势力进行了审判;这些暗魔曾经伤害了先意的外衣。第三位判官是善母,伟大的圣灵。她建立了宇宙的天界部分,并按照其愿望,使之美丽无比。她审判了上方的统治者,将其牢牢地束缚在禁闭之所。第四位判官是大般,他建筑了欢乐的新世界。他按照正义审判了敌人的仓储,从此以后,死亡不再大量涌现。……第五位判官是伟大的荣耀之王,他居住在第七层天。他是诸天的判官,依照正义判决,对于诸天的一切势力和所有国王作出真实审判。第六位判官是第三使,他前赴这里,显现自己。他净化了光明……还对敌人……。第七位判官是……他将胜利赐予坚信者,但是谴责有罪者……他将成为……通往天界之路,但是将把有罪者投入深渊。第八位判官是显赫夷数,一切使徒之父。……他降临下界,在诸天进行审判。他将坚信者和有罪者分离开来。第九位判官是明女,……她对湿地和干地的统治者进行审判。第十位判官是居住在空

中的判官,他审判全人类。他将善良者和邪恶者分离开来,将正直者和有罪者分离开来。第十一位判官是明心,他将降临和显现在这个世界上。他选择神圣教会,并揭示……他将光明和黑暗分离开来,将真理与非法分离开来。第十二位判官是大律师,……他将鉴别善良与邪恶,……他将分离光明与黑暗。^[12]

这十二位判官显然多是摩尼教的主神,全都受命于大判官,即大明尊。他们的职司虽然各有不同,但分明与摩尼教神学所划归他们的职责相呼应,如先意初战暗魔、善母创建诸天等。在此,活灵与明心亦然如此:前者降服伤害先意“外衣”(即是指其五明子)的暗魔,后者在人间创建神圣教会。很清楚他们是两个神,未见合而为一的迹象。

又,同书第29章谈及18个宝座,9个在永世,9个在宇宙;在永世(eternal realm)者,有一个为活灵所有,另一个为明心所有,足见二神并非同一:

他又对门徒们说道:有十八个宝座供所有的父尊使用,它们设在十八个处所。其中九个设在外部世界,遍布所有遭受破坏的地方。第一宝座是大明尊的,他是真理之神、伟大世界之王。第二宝座是显赫的生命之母的,她是抵达这一世界的一切发射物的渊源。第三宝座为初人父尊所造,他羞辱了黑暗世界的最早的敌意。第四宝座是明友的宝座,他是伟大世界的荣耀爱戴者。第五宝座是荣耀大般的宝座,他是为新人建造新世界的伟大建筑师;他还为光明诸父建造新世界,还建造了监禁黑暗仇敌的牢狱。第六宝座是活灵的宝座,他是荣耀的强大者,他将初人救离暗界,他还建造世界,令其有序运转。他净化光明分子,禁闭敌方诸魔。第七宝座是第三使的,他是世界之王,也是一切忠告的主人。第八宝座是显赫夷数的,他是一切灵魂的解放者的拯救者。第九宝座是大明心的,所有教会都集于他手,俗世一切要净化的生命都回归于他。这就是外部世界九个荣耀的宝座,它们为荣耀世界的父尊们而建。在荣耀国王的国度里,永远存在。阿门!^[13]

类似这样在同一段落中分别提及活灵、明心二神的记载尚有不少。例如,同书第75章谈及象征符号“信函(letter)”:即象征“召唤(summon)”和“服从(obedience)”,是“拯救(redemption)”的两大基本要素;“信函”是指有关已发生者和将发生者的一切知识,因此强调的是神圣的先见之明以及对事件结果的控制。而在这里,活灵和明心都分别发出过“信函”,则二神显然互有区别:

(摩尼对门说道:)关于召唤,这是在最初之时由活灵发出的。他向初人发出召唤。这是他撰写和发送给其兄弟的一封和平信函与问候,其中写下了所有的信息,包括召唤将导致的一切事件。……

由先意向上界的活灵发送出应答。这也是信函,由初人发往活灵,其中写下了所有的信息,以及他所进行的每一场战争与搏斗。……

明心也是一封和平的信函,来自深爱的教会,发往神圣的教会。其中,写下了所有的启示和智慧……一切……处于光明中,以及已经发生的一切……它先于所有人类,以及所有……将在最终发生者,就如神圣教会知道一切事情那样。^[14]

在此,活灵、先意、明心都分别发出过“信函”,则他们为地位相仿的不同神祇,十分清楚。

实际上,即使就汉文典籍而言,《残经》曾经断言净风与惠明同为一神(如前引“净法风者即是惠明”语),但是它处仍有记载表明,净风与惠明乃是两个不同的神祇,如《下部赞》^[15](《收食单偈》,第169—172颂):

一者无上光明王,二者智惠善母佛,三者常胜先意佛,四者欢喜五明佛,五者勤修乐明佛,六者真实造相佛,七者信心净风佛,八者忍辱日光佛,九者直意卢舍那,十者知恩夷数佛,十一者齐心电光佛,十二者惠明庄严佛。身是三世法中王,开杨一切秘密事;二宗三际性相义,悉能显现无疑滞。

这里列数十二位摩尼教主神,犹如上引科普特文《克弗来亚》列数十二位判官一样,也将“净风佛”与“惠明佛”^[16]列为两种不同的神祇,则再次展示了净风与惠明的相异之处。

§3

四 净风、惠明之关系辨析

既然如上所述,净风和惠明并非同一神灵,那么,是否表明《摩尼教残经》之说纯属子虚乌有,无端误解?依我之见,净风与惠明虽非同属一神,但二者之间的关系却较诸与其他神祇的关系更为密切,是以导致后人误会。兹辨析如次。

摩尼教神学的显著特征之一,是将人体视同于整个宇宙的缩影,或者,宇宙是人类身体的仿制品。易言之,人体是个小宇宙,宇宙是个大人体。因此,人体具备宇宙的一切结构,而宇宙的各部构件也可与人体的器官一一对应。下引《克弗来亚》的一段话,十分生动地展示了摩尼教神学的这一观念:

随后,使徒(指摩尼——引者)对他(指门徒——引者)说道:宇宙按照人的模样而构成。他的头是外衣的领口。他的颈是外衣的项部。他的胃是五个展开部分,是外衣的……。他的肋骨是诸重天。他的脐是星辰和黄道十二宫。此外,他的脐和臀之间的那部分是从黄道十二宫诸星到四世界角落的那部分。他的腰是……之下的三重地,它在门警的上方。他的……是从……到门警稳稳站立的大地的那部分。他的胫骨和脚是……,整个区域隶属于……。他的心脏是人类。他的肝是四足动物。他的肺是空中飞翔的鸟类。他的脾是水中游泳的鱼类。他的肾是地上匍匐的爬行类动物。他的表皮是……的围墙,包围着浓烈的大火。他的……是……烈焰的容器。他的……黑暗的……。他的胆是……。他的大肠是各个世界的……。他的血管是……一切井、泉。他的眼睛

是……。^[17]

显而易见,大、小宇宙的观念根深蒂固地存在于摩尼教的神学中,二者的关系是如此的密切,以至可以用此象征彼,或者以彼代表此。同书在第70章内对于这大、小宇宙的对对应关系,作了更具体的描述:

导师再次对听众说道:白羊宫、金牛宫、双子宫、巨蟹宫、狮子宫、室女宫、天秤宫、天蝎宫、人马宫、摩羯宫、宝瓶宫、双鱼宫,这是黄道十二宫,见于上界,在空中。……

又,如我们已经列数的黄道十二宫那样,它们也一一见于人体内,他们依次排列,从头到脚。头是白羊宫,颈和肩是金牛宫;双臂是双子宫;上身是巨蟹宫;胃是狮子宫;腹部是室女宫;脊椎和肠是天秤宫;生殖器是天蝎宫;腰是人马宫;膝是摩羯宫;胫骨是宝瓶宫;脚掌是双鱼宫。看哪,它们也逐一地分布,存在于身体各部,犹如黄道十二宫的分布格局一样。它们也一个个依次排列,从头至脚,……

我将叙述的自上而下的右侧六种肢体是:右太阳穴为白羊宫;右肩是金牛宫;右臂是双子宫;右胸腔是巨蟹宫;胃是狮子宫;生殖器的右半部是室女宫。倒过来,我们已谈到的另六种肢体在左侧,它们则是自臀部至头部:生殖器的左半部是天秤宫;左胸腔是天蝎宫;左乳与左肾是人马宫;左肘是摩羯宫;左肩是宝瓶宫;左太阳穴是双鱼宫。这即是人体创造者所安排的肢体。他将它们依次排列,一个挨着一个,自头至足。^[18]

这样关系密切的大、小宇宙的主宰者,恰好分别是活灵和明心!同样在《克弗来亚》第70章内,清楚指出了这一点:

他(使者摩尼——引者)对门徒们说:整个宇宙,上上下下,都相应于人体的布局;正如肉体的构成对应于宇宙的模式。

头颅就如五外衣的最初成果。从颈项到心侧,类似于十重天模式。心脏与旋转苍穹之轮子一致。从心脏下至肠子,犹如从苍穹延伸至地面的大气。人体的男性部分相当于大地。又,从肠到腰的部分则相当于三重地。又,人体的胫骨相当于门警所站立的空间。脚掌则相当于门警所站的大地,以及他脚下的四个扣绊。肝相当于盛火容器。肉相当于黑暗容器。血相当于盛水容器。……

此外,我告诉你们:在这外部大区有五个大营地,由活灵的五子掌管各营地。显赫护卫掌管第一了望台,站在城垛之上,统辖三重天。在其之下是光荣之王。第二了望台由光荣之王掌管,他的权力遍及其下的七重天。第三了望台由阿达曼特掌管,他的统治区从苍穹降及大地。……第四了望台是三轮,由荣耀之王掌管。他的权力遍及门警顶上的三重地。门警掌管第五了望台。他站在大地之上,脚下为四个扣绊。……

犹如我已告诉你们,存在于外部大区五个营地中的五个了望台一样,选民的体内亦然如此。那里有另外五个营地,由明心监察着它们,与之一起的是新人。选民将控制身

体上部的脸的外形,将其导向善良。他类似于显赫护卫之神迹,掌管着该区的上方。控制心脏的任何人,是掌管七重天的伟大光荣之王的象征。掌管生殖器并抑制其欲望的任何人,是征服物质的光明阿达曼特的神迹。控制肠胃,从而控制体内之火,并净化食品的任何入,类似于转动三轮,将生命送上天堂的荣耀之王。控制脚下的统治权,用宁静链子束缚之的任何人,就如用脚掌蹂躏下方暗狱的门警。^[19]

既然活灵是“大宇宙”的主宰者,明心是“小宇宙”的主宰者,而大、小宇宙的关系又是如此的密切,互为模式、互为象征,那么,活灵与明心的相似之处自然远远超过其他神祇。可以认为,活灵既是宇宙的主神,又是放大了的人体的主神;而明心既是人体的主神,又是缩小了的宇宙的主神。显然,摩尼教的“宇宙 \longleftrightarrow 人体”神学导致了活灵、明心二神在某种意义上的“合而为一”,故使人误以为二者即是同一,则前引《残经》所采《应轮经》“净法风者即是惠明”之语也就不足为奇了。

综上所述,可作如下结语:

首先,即使就源流上说,摩尼教的诸神都是从大明尊“发射”或者“召唤”而出,亦即都是“光明分子”,但是,诸神显现后的角色毕竟各不相同,就此而言,净风(Living Spirit)与惠明(Light Nous 或 Light Mind)是两种不同的神祇。净风的主要业绩在于创造天、地,是创制宇宙的神灵;惠明的主要职责在于拯救人类的灵魂,使灵魂(即被暗魔囚禁的光明分子)脱离牢笼,回归明界。

其次,汉文《摩尼教残经》所引《应轮经》的“净法风者即是惠明”一语不确,至少,不能将其理解为二神是严格意义上的同一,而至多视之为象征意义上的雷同。所以,有些学者据此将净风比定于惠明,甚至在此基础上作更进一步的推论,显然会导致谬误,故不足取。

最后,净风与惠明二神尽管并非同一,但其间的关系却较诸与其他神灵的关系密切。原因在于他们正好是摩尼教“宇宙 \longleftrightarrow 人体”神学中两大对应方面的主神;人体既为对应于“大宇宙”的“小宇宙”,则净风、惠明也就经常互为象征了。这当是中外摩尼教典籍往往不能清晰分辨,甚至混淆二者的主要原因。

略 语 表

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注 释

- [1]例如,翁拙瑞认为,“净(pure)”与“明(light)”同义,而“风(wind)”与“心(nous, mind)”相关;《下部赞》有“礼敬清静微妙风,本是明尊心中智”语;故接受《应轮经》“净法风者即是惠明”之说(Peter Bryder, *Transformation*, pp. 101, 119)。宋德曼也是在确认《残经》“净风=惠明”之说的基础上,才以《下部赞》“清静微妙风=明尊心中智”之语为据,支持其“惠明(light nous)来自明尊”之说的(Werner Sundermann, *Light-Nous*, p. 261)。又如,波洛茨基(H. J. Polotsky)将先意(the First Man)直接视同于惠明(Light Nous)(*Paulys Real-Encyklopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. VI. Stuttgart, 1935, col. 241—271)。许地山介绍摩尼教的创世神学时说,明尊第三次召唤,化出惠明使;惠明与其同伴为擒魔类,化作女身,使之色欲而泄出精子(即光明分子)云云(许地山《二宗三际》,页389—390)。而实际上,通常的史料都将这些业绩归功于第三使(the Third Messenger)。
- [2]由于这一文献的前半部分已经失佚,故真实书名不得而知。当初,罗振玉鉴于其内容涉及波斯宗教的“明”、“暗”宗旨,因此名之曰《波斯教经》,《大正新修大藏经》遂以《波斯教残经》一名收录之(第五十四卷, No. 2141B)。陈垣将它称为《摩尼教残经一》,以区别于同样残缺的另一份摩尼教文书《摩尼教残经二》(即《摩尼光佛教法仪略》)(见陈垣《摩尼教入中国考》附录,载《陈垣学术论文

- 集》，中华书局，1980年）。翁拙瑞认为当作《惠明讲义》（Bryder, *Transformation*, p. 38）。林悟殊则认为此即《证明过去教经》，其原文乃是摩尼本人所撰的七本著述之一 *The Pragmateia*（《东渐》，页191—207）。为名实一致起见，本文称之为《摩尼教残经》。所采用的版本为《东渐》所附之“释文”。
- [3] “化出诚信，加彼净风；又从明念”十二字，未见于敦煌残卷原文，遂令辞意不通，故显为脱讹。中外诸本多从此误，不妥；今按文意补充之。
- [4] 见 Jackson, *Researches* 记载的 Theodore Bar Khoni, *Book of Scholia* 的有关文字，由 Abraham Yohannan 从叙利亚文译成英文，pp. 228—238.
- [5] Allberry, *Psalm-Book*, “Psalms of the Bema”, CCXXIII, 10₂₀₋₃₂.
- [6] 原文为中古波斯语文书 M 98 I 和 M 99 I。原文转写载于 Mary Boyce, *Reader*, Text Y, pp. 60—62；英译文则见 Hans-J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis*, pp. 225—227.
- [7] Iain Gardner, *Kephalaia*, Ch. XXXVIII, 94₁₇₋₂₁, 95₁₅₋₁₉, 96_{2-5, 7-21, 25-33}, 97₁₋₃, p. 99—100.
- [8] Allberry, *Psalm-Book*, 173₁₃₋₃₀.
- [9] Iain Gardner, *Kephalaia*, Ch. LVI, 142₂—143₃₂, pp. 149—150.
- [10] Iain Gardner, *Kephalaia*, Ch. IX, 38₁₅—41₁₀, pp. 43—46.
- [11] Iain Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, Ch. XI, 43₂₂—44₁₆, pp. 49—50.
- [12] Iain Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, Ch. XXVIII, 79₂₃—81₆, pp. 81—83.
- [13] Iain Gardner, *The Kephalaia*, Ch. XXIX, 81₂₄—82₂₈, pp. 83—84.
- [14] Iain Gardner, *Kephalaia*, Ch. LXXV, 182₁₋₂₇, pp. 191—192.
- [15] 《下部赞》在 20 世纪初于敦煌莫高窟被发现之后，经日本学者矢吹庆辉认定为摩尼教经典，收入《大正新修大藏经》（卷 54，第 2140 号）。是为中国摩尼教徒举行宗教仪式时使用的赞美诗，虽然亦有残缺，但较诸其它文字的摩尼教赞美诗更为完整。本文所转引的《下部赞》文字及编号，均据自林悟殊《伦敦藏敦煌写本〈下部赞〉原件考察》（载《季羡林教授八十华诞纪念论文集》，下册，页 871—900，江西人民出版社，1991 年）。
- [16] 原文“惠明庄严佛”当乙为“庄严惠明佛”。盖因这里的“庄严”为“惠明”的修饰词，义为光辉、荣耀、装饰等，相当于梵文 *alamkāra*（见 Peter Bryder, *Transformation*, p. 68）。因此，Glintzer 将此神译作“*Weisheitslicht: Schmuck-Gottheit*”（见 Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, *Manichaica*, p. 32）是不适当的；Tsui Chi 译作“*Hui-ming, the dignified and solemn Buddha*”（见 Tsui Chi, *Hymns*），则庶几近之。
- [17] Iain Gardner, *Kephalaia*, Ch. XXXVIII, 90₂₀—91₁₃, pp. 95—96.
- [18] Iain Gardner, *Kephalaia*, Ch. LXX, 173₂₂—175₄, pp. 183—184.
- [19] Iain Gardner, *Kephalaia*, Ch. LXX, 169₂₈—172₂₅, pp. 180—182.

唐代“胡人”图像初探

刘 文 锁

唐代“胡人”问题是了解唐代社会的钥匙,历史学研究在这方面多有贡献,惟有唐代墓葬等中出土的陶、三彩、石质等雕塑及壁画等种类图像资料,尚有可发之覆。因为资料散见于各地出版的考古报告、论著之中,在收集时颇费周折,本文检录者仅是见诸发表的部分,那些保存于库房等中尚未公布的,其数量可想而知;而且,各地的考古新发现层出不穷,将来仍会如此。是故,唐代“胡人”图像问题尚是个不会终止的研究题目。向觉明先生早自三十年代开始使用唐俑资料“图像证史”(《唐代长安与西域文明》,1933年),后来有沈从文先生的“胡服”研究(《中国古代服饰研究》,1981年)。国外学者方面,1959年哥伦比亚大学 Jane Gaston Mahler 专著《唐俑中的西域人》(*The Westerners among the Figurines of the T'ang Dynasty of China*),根据形象识别族属;又有一位学者 M. S. Abramson,其博士论文以《深目高鼻:唐代中国族性构建》(*Deep eyes and high noses: constructing ethnicity in Tang China*)为题,阐述唐代的族群认同问题,等等。以上高论,笔者从中获益匪浅,深受启发,对本题研究是有价值的。然由于篇幅之限,下文只能就其资料情况略作整理,并就其体裁、题材与艺术手法等几个问题稍作讨论,以作为进一步研究的基础。关于“胡人”之定义,早有仁、智之歧见,汉、胡之分野,原本是历史问题,现在仍在延续;汉、胡之观念、体认,原本是双向“互动”的关系,汉人眼中的“胡”与“胡人”眼中的“汉”,都是充满情趣的话题。我以为,透过“胡人”图像的研究,正可以窥视胡、汉问题的本质。

一 “胡人”图像之发现与分布

见诸报道的“胡人”图像,系指表现“胡人”形象的雕塑、绘画等体裁,前者主要是墓葬随葬的泥、烧土(陶)、三彩(彩色釉陶)、石等质地的塑像和雕刻,后者包括壁画和绘画。按现在的行政区罗列,计有下述各批发现:

陕西省

西安白鹿原唐墓^[1],城郊独孤思贞墓、独孤思敬墓、鲜于庭海墓、杨思勖墓,^[2]郭家滩唐墓^[3],郭家滩严君妻任氏墓^[4],郭家滩裴思恣墓^[5],郭家滩史思礼墓^[6],郭家滩李玄德墓^[7],韩森寨唐墓^[8],韩森寨雷君妻宋氏墓^[9],东、西郊唐墓^[10],东郊唐苏思勖墓^[11],东郊纺建路北唐墓^[12],西安东十里铺唐墓^[13],长安灞桥^[14],灞桥镇唐金乡县主墓^[15],王家坟唐安公主墓^[16],西安西枣园^[17],西郊唐俾什十襄墓^[18],西郊中堡村唐墓^[19],西郊曹家堡唐墓^[20],西郊新西北火车站唐墓^[21],西郊热电厂工地唐墓^[22],未央区三桥镇关庙小学工地^[23],西安硫酸厂唐墓^[24],唐董僧利墓^[25],西安插秧村^[26],何家村唐窖藏(“乐伎八棱金杯”等)^[27],红庆村独孤君妻元氏墓^[28],南郊嘉里村裴氏小娘子墓^[29],南郊西北政法学院南校区34号唐墓^[30],南郊陕西师范大学郭杜校区唐墓(M31)^[31],南郊唐韦君夫人等墓^[32],雁塔区延兴门村唐康文通墓^[33],三原县焦村唐李寿墓^[34];泾阳县石刘村唐张仲晖墓^[35];咸阳师专唐墓^[36],咸阳唐苏君墓^[37],底张湾独孤开远墓^[38],底张湾薛从简墓^[39],底张湾豆卢建墓^[40],渭城区药王洞村契苾明墓^[41],底张湾张去逸墓^[42],华清宫梨园、小汤遗址^[43];富平县唐李凤墓^[44],朱家道村唐墓^[45];礼泉县昭陵石刻(“十四国酋长像”,“六骏”之“飒露紫”胡人马夫,等)^[46],昭陵段简璧墓^[47],礼泉县阿史那忠墓^[48],礼泉县唐张士贵墓^[49],礼泉县唐越王李贞墓^[50],新城长公主墓^[51];乾县乾陵墓上石刻(“藩臣”像)^[52],永泰公主墓^[53],章怀太子墓^[54],懿德太子墓^[55],郑仁泰墓^[56];唐节愍太子墓^[57],蒲城县三合村“让皇帝”李宪夫妇合葬墓,桥陵村惠庄太子墓^[58];临潼关山唐墓^[59];凤翔县城南郊唐墓^[60];陇县党家庄唐墓^[61];宝鸡千阳坡头唐墓^[62];户县西坡村唐墓^[63]等。

河南省

郑州孙庄唐墓^[64],上街区唐墓^[65],唐丁彻墓^[66];洛阳关林唐墓^[67],南郊龙门镇花园村唐睿宗贵妃豆卢氏墓^[68],龙门安菩夫妇墓^[69],北郊唐颍川陈氏墓^[70],涧西区谷水唐墓^[71];孟津西山头唐墓^[72];伊川唐墓^[73];偃师杏园村唐墓^[74],瑶头村唐墓^[75],沟口头砖厂唐墓^[76],唐柳凯墓^[77],山化乡石家庄村唐墓^[78],缙氏镇唐恭陵哀皇后墓^[79];巩义市食品厂唐墓^[80],北窑湾唐墓^[81],巩县唐墓^[82],黄冶唐三彩窑址^[83];新安县磁涧(出土唐三彩)^[84];三门峡三里桥村唐墓^[85];安阳修定寺塔遗迹^[86],安阳第二制药厂唐墓^[87];上蔡县贾庄唐墓^[88];孟县店上村唐墓^[89]等。

山西省

太原南郊金胜村唐墓^[90],西郊玉门沟车站^[91],南郊唐壁画墓^[92];长治东郊唐墓^[93],东郊唐王惠墓^[94],北石槽唐墓^[95],唐王休泰墓^[96],西郊瓦窑沟建华菜场唐冯廓墓^[97],宋家庄唐范澄夫妇墓^[98]等。

河北省

大名县何弘敬墓^[99];平山县西岳村崔仲方墓^[100];南和县侯郭村唐郭祥墓^[101],东贾郭村唐墓^[102];献县唐墓^[103];文安县麻各庄唐墓^[104];清河县丘家那唐墓^[105];安国市梨园唐墓^[106]等。

甘肃省

敦煌老爷庙唐墓^[107],佛爷庙唐墓^[108],莫高窟唐代壁画(45、46、103、156、158、159、323窟等)^[109];天水石马坪隋唐屏风石棺床墓^[110];秦安县杨家沟唐墓^[111];宁县城关唐墓^[112]。等。

宁夏回族自治区

固原唐墓^[113],南郊小马庄史道德墓^[114];盐池县苏布井乡窖子梁唐墓^[115];银川玉泉营唐墓^[116]。等。

湖南省

长沙唐墓^[117],黄土岭唐墓^[118],牛角塘唐墓^[119],咸嘉湖唐墓^[120],赤峰山3、4号墓^[121];湘阴唐墓^[122]。等。

江苏省

扬州邗江县杨庙唐墓^[123],郭家山唐墓^[124],东郊唐墓^[125];徐州花马庄唐墓^[126];吴县姚桥头唐墓^[127]。等。

新疆维吾尔自治区

吐鲁番阿斯塔那一哈拉和卓墓地^[128];库车苏巴什古城舍利盒^[129],克孜尔石窟、克孜尔杂哈石窟、库木吐拉石窟唐代壁画^[130]。等。

辽宁省

朝阳唐墓^[131],朝阳市黄河路唐墓^[132],朝阳西大营子唐墓^[133]。等。

天津市

军粮城唐墓^[134]。

吉林省

集安高句丽墓葬^[135]。

湖北省

武昌东郊何家垅188号唐墓^[136]。

四川省

万县唐墓^[137]。

云南省

安宁县小石庄唐墓^[138]。

另据陈万里先生编《陶俑》,著录若干“胡”俑,计有:唐乐舞群俑、拳击俑、骑马俑、彩绘骑马俑、三色釉(案即三彩)骑骆驼俑等^[139]。《走向盛唐——文化交流与融合》著录洛阳博物馆收藏的一件“胡商”陶俑^[140]。李知宴文介绍过一件三彩“胡人”尊^[141]。

上述资料并不周全。流散国外的中国文物中,也包括了此种类型的“胡人”俑等,难以收

罗。根据这些报道的考古资料可以看出,“胡人”图像之分布,以两京地区最为集中;在京畿之外,又以山西、河北、甘肃三省发现较多。山西省的出土地,目前只见于太原、长治两地;甘肃省主要出自敦煌地区。有几个地点值得注意:宁夏固原、湖南长沙、新疆吐鲁番以及辽宁省朝阳地区。除此以外的地方,仅是零星的出土而已。

以上系“胡人”图像在空间上的分布情况。若以时间关系考察,可以看出此类图像的时间分布特点,按照一般的将有唐一代(618—907)分为四个时段的划分法:

初唐(高祖至睿宗,618—711年)—盛唐(玄宗,712—755年)—中唐(肃宗至宪宗,756—820年)—晚唐(穆宗至昭宣帝,821—906年)

可以看出“胡人”图像绝大多数出自初、盛唐时期的墓葬,而在盛唐时期之后呈现锐减的趋势。这个时间分布特点虽验证了史学研究的结论,但仍有耐人寻味之处。

二 体裁、题材与艺术手法

见诸报道的资料,从总体上分雕塑、绘画二种。金银器、画像砖等上采用雕塑技法施加的图案,可以归入雕塑类型当中;另外,在传世的绘画中亦有表现“胡人”形象者(《步辇图》)。雕塑类的体裁可以分作下述几种:

陶或三彩俑

这是最主要的类型,以烧土质的泥塑(即通常所说的陶俑)表现的例子是最多的。在两京地区墓葬出土的资料中,还可以见到数量不菲的采用三彩(即低温釉陶)技术制作的三彩“胡”俑。其例子因数量众多,此处不作枚举。

石刻

最重要的石刻“胡人”像以昭、乾二陵墓上的石雕像为著名。昭陵陵墓之上的“神道”两侧侍立的石雕“蕃臣”像有14尊,一般都称作“十四国君长像”^[142],据《唐会要》:

上欲阐扬先帝徽烈,乃令匠人琢石,写诸蕃君长、贞观中擒伏归化者行状,而刻其官名。^[143]

此批石雕像根据现在的调查,已仅存若干像座及头部残块而已,像座上尚有残存的题记。孙迟先生据调查资料和宋游师雄《昭陵图》等,已对14位君长做了考证。另外有极著名的“昭陵六骏”石刻,其中之“飒露紫”又雕刻出牵马的“胡人”马夫像,是昭陵“胡人”石刻之一种。

又有乾陵的墓上石刻,习称“六十一宾王像”,被认为是玄宗逝世后前来举哀的61国君王、使节的雕像,陈国灿先生已纠此说^[144]。61尊石像之头部均已不存,与昭陵石刻一样遭到劫难,或许是“反胡化运动”的牺牲品。但据元祐时期游师雄重刻的石碑及元代李好文编《长安志图》,有36尊石像的题记(背后)得以保存。

华清宫梨园遗址出土过一件石雕的力士头像,是一座像的残块。从图版上看,实属于“胡人”的形象,“深目高鼻”、络腮胡须。

另在辽宁朝阳市黄河路唐墓中出土过两件石雕“胡人”像,为男女各一人。此类随葬于墓中的石雕“胡人”像极罕见^[145]。

宁夏盐池苏布井唐墓墓门上的石刻,所表现者为两幅作舞蹈姿式的“胡人”,被称作是“胡腾舞”的图像^[146]。惠庄太子墓门扉上的线刻图像,亦是刻画“胡人”之形象^[147],这种表现方式亦可说明一些问题。

关于唐代的“胡人”石刻,一笔可资比较的很好的资料,是在欧亚草原地带发现的与北朝—唐约略同时代的突厥石人,这种资料分布范围广泛,而且数量不菲。如欲辨识唐“胡人”图像中的突厥人族属,这些资料是极好的参考。

金银器图案

西安何家村唐代窖藏里出土的鎏金伎乐纹八棱银杯,在杯身一周装饰以浮雕的深目高鼻、头戴尖顶或瓦楞帽的“胡人”图像,作手持乐器或者舞蹈姿式;同出的另一件忍冬纹金杯,其把手指垫部装饰一个深目高鼻、长髯的“胡人”头像^[148]。

唐代金银器上具有的“胡人”图像,可以此二杯为代表。齐东方教授的研究(《唐代金银器研究》)于此方面收罗最广,可以作参考。但是相比之下,北朝金银器上的“胡人”图像似乎较为丰富一些。这种相似的情况,在石刻方面更是如此,如祆教画像石即是一例。

其他:花纹砖、尊形器与玉雕等

敦煌佛爷庙湾唐墓出土过模印的画像砖,上面的图案有一种是所谓“胡商牵驼”(分为A、B二型),系头戴高尖顶帽的“胡商”牵引驮载货物的骆驼形象。此种模印画像砖的形式是少见的。

李知宴先生介绍过唐三彩里出现的一种“胡人”尊形器,采用巧妙的设计,将尊制作成深目高鼻、“大胡子”的“胡人”造型。“胡人”的腹部亦即尊之腹部^[149]。



“胡人”尊形器(Seattle Art Museum 藏品)

1990年12月于西安西郊的未央区三桥镇关庙小学工地发现的唐代玉带板,共18块,白玉质,其中十块上面雕刻的图案为“胡人”图像。按其报告,“胡人”图像各呈姿式,或卷发或披发,或虬髯或无须,或胡服或裸上体,或奏乐器或持物或饮酒,刻画较细腻的面部特征,可以看出有深目高鼻的形象^[150]。这一组图像非常可贵。

绘画类型之中,其体裁又可以分作下述几种:

壁画

属于发现数量最多的种类,与墓葬出土的陶、三彩“胡”俑类情况相同。此种表现“胡人”内容、形象之壁画,以章怀太子墓东、西二壁绘画的“客使图”为重要。另外在西安南郊唐韦君夫人墓、独孤思贞墓、昭陵新城长公主墓等的壁画中,也有“胡人”的题材。不作罗列。

绢画

此类极罕见,知名者有阎立本之《步辇图》,绘画了吐蕃使节的形象^[151]。值得注意者,在于吐蕃使节前引导的唐职事外交的官员,亦是“胡人”的形象,元汤垕《画鉴》称“朱衣髯官执笏引班”,或许属于唐代负责外交事务的机构鸿胪寺的赞者^[152];据徐邦达先生所说,阎立本亦曾画有题作《职贡图》的画卷^[153]。且不论这幅《职贡图》是否阎氏真迹,其于本题之参考价值可想而知。

其他

以前在新疆库车苏巴什古城遗址曾出土过一件舍利盒,上面绘画的乐舞图像十分丰富。这笔资料未见正式报道,而舍利盒之年代可以参考的是古城的年代,据认为属魏晋至唐代,这件遗物大略也可以认为属于唐代。据孙机先生引用的摹本,整幅画面表现了二十一位乐人和舞者的形象,都可以看作是“胡人”之类。其中有一种形象,表现手法与本地石窟寺壁画里的供养人图像相似,或许属于本地的龟兹人的形象^[154]。

以上各种体裁的“胡人”图像还不是全部,或许还有其他的类型为笔者所未尝注意,也可以期待未来新发现的资料予以补充。

唐代“胡人”图像的题材问题,亦需要详加分类,以求说明其间的差异。关于此,过去的考古报告多存在含混之处,一般的情况是,对于那种特征明确(深目高鼻和浓髯)的陶俑之类,习惯上都称作是“胡俑”。但是我们根据资料可以发现的问题,是在笼统的“胡人”名义下,实际是存在一些差别的,即“胡人”的身份(种族、社会)有所不同,而且通过图像已经被匠人们“程式化”地表达出来了。此其一。第二,对于各种表现形式的“胡人”图像,自然需要探究它们在题材上的差异,也就是说当时的匠人和使用者是如何看待这些异族形象的?

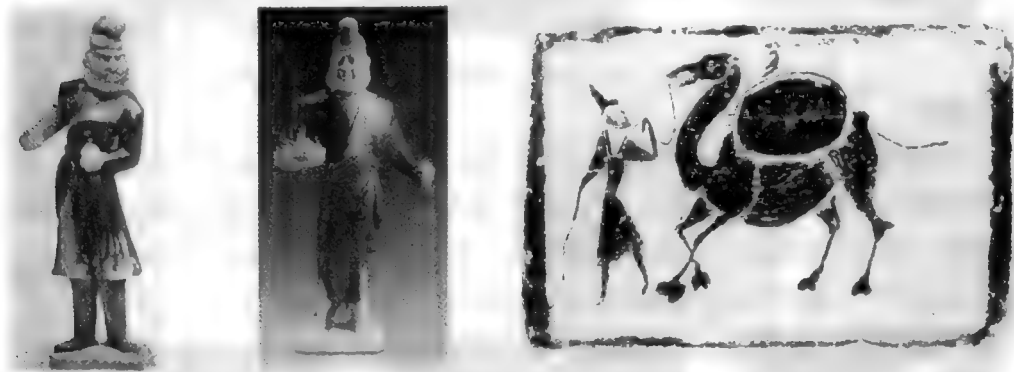
从各种表达方式的“胡人”图像的分类入手,可以粗略看出这一类图像的一般特征。这里说的“题材”,是指“胡人”图像的主要内容。下述的几种题材是根据上文罗列的资料而分类的,为了进一步说明其图像上的特征,关于各种题材的艺术手法也一并罗列在内。

驼夫、马夫与牛车夫

最常见的“胡人”图像之一种,考古报告中通常称作“牵驼俑”、“牵马俑”。这一类型的题材与商贾和侍仆类是有区别的。一般的表现方式是身体呈牵引姿式的“胡人”,双手作握的动作。在一些未遭扰乱墓葬例子中,发现了与驼或马组合的情况,例如独孤思贞墓和章怀太子墓出土的“胡人”牵驼俑^[155],因此这种组合应当是原始的摆放状况,即牵驼和牵马俑与驼和马俑是组合随葬的。由于墓葬遭受的破坏情况,有相当一部分此类俑都是单独出土的。

驼夫和马夫俑本身,一般都表现出典型的“胡人”特征。这一点很明确。这一类题材的“胡人”形象,包含了几种体质特征的“胡人”在内。

第一种是典型的“胡人”形象,例如西安南郊唐墓(M31)的例子,除了标准的牵引的姿式,“胡人”的特征是:在体质特征上的深目高鼻、“大胡子”;在服饰上的紧身、窄袖胡服,长统靴;著唐人习戴的幘头^[156]。可以说明的是,此种形象的“胡人”是整个唐代“胡人”图像中最为常见的一种,其题材和表现方式往往还见于其他绘画作品之中。



“胡人”驼、马夫(左:西安东郊十里铺 337 号唐墓;中:西安南郊唐墓三彩俑;
右:敦煌佛爷庙湾唐墓模印砖 B 型)

第二种“胡人”,以吐鲁番阿斯塔那 206 号墓出土者为例。此墓出土的一件“胡人”驼夫俑,在体质特征上是深目高鼻,但不具“大胡子”,其服饰与前一种相同,但是头戴一种高尖顶帽式^[157]。敦煌佛爷庙湾唐墓出土之模印画像砖“胡商”像,亦属于此类。另外在洛阳安菩墓出土的一种与此相同的三彩“胡人”牵驼、马俑,也是戴尖顶帽,但具有浓髯。

第三种“胡人”形象,以西安郊区鲜于庭海墓和西北政法学院南校区 34 号唐墓出土者为例,表现为深目高鼻、辫发,著圆领套头袍,束带^[158]。章怀太子墓和独孤思贞墓所出者均同此类。洛阳安菩墓所出的一件三彩俑,其“胡人”卷发束头带。

第四种“胡人”形象,以唐阿史那忠墓壁画中的钱车图为例,有大、小两位御者,其一戴圆

顶皮帽,著圆领套头袍;另一位年幼者蓬头,衣着相同,共同牵引一辆牛车^[159]。

另外在洛阳安菩墓出土的三彩牵驼、马“胡”俑中,有一件头戴圆顶小帽。此种形象极少见。



左:西北政法学院南校区 34 号唐墓出土胡俑;右:铎车图(阿史那忠墓,摹本)

商贾

洛阳唐墓出土的一件“胡商”俑,表现一位深目高鼻、大胡子的“胡人”,背负行囊,一手提着“胡瓶”,弯腰艰难跋涉的样子^[160]。此类“胡人”商贾形象,一般表现为骑在驼上的形象,例如长治唐王休泰墓出土陶“胡人”骑驼俑,“胡人”深目高鼻、大胡子,驼背上塑出胡瓶等旅行用具^[161]。山西长治北石槽唐墓亦出土相同的“胡商”骑驼俑^[162]。



“胡”商(左:洛阳唐墓出土;中:长治王休泰墓;右:长治北石槽唐墓)

乐人

最为知名的一件此类题材的俑,即鲜于庭海墓所出的骆驼载乐俑。在驼背上塑造出的

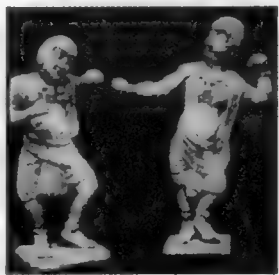
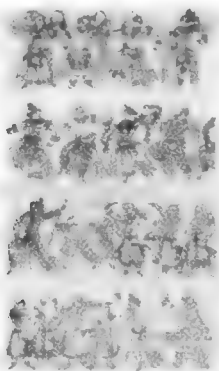
一组由五位乐人组成的一支小型乐队,其中三人系“胡人”,著幘头、翻领胡服,深目高鼻、浓髯,其姿式各呈表演乐器之态,而中间站立的艺人,则作演唱的形象^[163]。西安南郊唐墓(M31)出土的一件三彩骑驼奏乐“胡俑”,也是深目高鼻、浓髯、幘头、胡服的形象^[164]。关于“胡人”乐俑,所表现形象似乎较为单一。宁夏苏布井唐墓墓门上的“胡腾舞”图像,是此类题材的较好例子。但在绘画等中也可以看到其他形象的“胡”乐人,例如库车出土舍利盒上的乐舞图像,表现的多是龟兹当地的“胡人”。

普通人

西安南郊唐墓(M31)出土有普通形象的三彩“胡人”俑,幘头、胡服,深目高鼻、浓髯,即最为常见的“胡人”形象。关于普通“胡人”这个分类还有可以商榷的地方,大抵是因为此类题材与下述的“胡人”文吏的题材难以区别,姑且称之而已。

杂技、体育

属于晚唐时期的敦煌156窟壁画“宋国夫人出行图”里,有一组杂技图,看上去都是“胡人”形象,深目高鼻,戴帽或者披发。陈万里先生《陶俑》一书发表的“拳击俑”,似乎是黑人的形象,卷发,裸上身^[165]。吐鲁番阿斯塔那墓地出土的一件黑人百戏俑,亦是卷发、赤上身的形象,手执一根棍棒^[166]。西安南郊唐墓(M31)出土的一组叠人的杂技俑,在最下方者是一个“胡人”的形象,深目高鼻,头顶之上叠立四层的小童^[167]。其次,此类题材的“胡人”图像尚有驯兽和马毬的形象,例如懿德太子墓壁画的“胡人”驯豹图等。马毬的题材里也有“胡人”的图像在内,表现的是唐代“胡人”参与打马毬的情形。



“胡人载乐俑”(鲜于庭海墓出土);库车舍利盒乐舞图
(据孙机《中国圣火》);“拳击俑”(据陈万里《陶俑》)

使节

章怀太子墓壁画“客使图”是最著名的此类题材,东、西两壁各有一幅,其身份已被考证^[168]。“胡人”形象既有“东胡”亦有“西胡”系统。此不赘述。此外,《步辇图》里的吐蕃使

节,亦属于此类题材。

文吏

这个题材与前述的普通“胡人”题材难以辨别,大致上,在唐代之“胡人”图像中有一种着唐装的“胡人”,但也不一定是唐代官吏的服饰,原因是所谓的“唐装”其实在一些方面业已受到胡服的影响,且有如《步辇图》里的“胡人”鸿胪寺官员所著服装,基本保留了胡服的本色,在章怀太子墓西壁的《客使图》里,站在最后位置的一位“胡人”,也与《步辇图》的形象一样,可能也属于供职于鸿胪寺的官吏。大致上看,此类文吏题材的“胡人”图像数量发现的亦较多,如洛阳谷水唐墓的唐三彩“胡人”文吏俑,也有其他的例子。

除上述诸题材外,还有以下几种题材:武士(臣)、骑士、侏儒、仆役、侍从、猎人、镇墓兽、小鬼及特别受到关注的卷发黑人图像题材,最后一种已有研究,称作“昆仑奴”^[169]。这个方面涉及到对各种题材和表现形式的“胡人”图像的身份的识别问题,留待他论。

注 释

[1] 俞伟超《西安白鹿原墓葬发掘报告》,《考古学报》1956年第3期。

[2] 以上四墓参见中国社会科学院考古研究所编著《唐长安城郊隋唐墓》,文物出版社,1980年;《中华人民共和国出土文物展》,朝日新闻东京本社企画部,东京,1973,图155、156、166等。

[3] 考古研究所陕西考古调查发掘队《宝鸡和西安附近考古发掘简报》,《考古通讯》1955年第2期,图版叁·3;陕西省文物管理委员会《西安郭家滩唐墓清理简报》,《考古通讯》1956年第6期,图版拾捌·4、5。

[4] 陕西省文物管理委员会编《陕西省出土唐俑选集》,文物出版社,1958年,图44。

[5] 同[4],图48-49。

[6] 同[4],图83。

[7] 同[4],图108。

[8] 张正岭《西安韩森寨唐墓清理记》,《考古通讯》1957年第5期,图版拾叁·2;陕西省文物管理委员会《介绍几件陕西出土的唐代青瓷器》,《文物》1960年第4期,青黄釉堆花壶腹部堆塑“胡人”像、跪人尊、“胡人”头。

[9] 同[4],图88。

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[11] 陕西考古所唐墓工作组《西安东郊唐苏思助墓清理简报》,《考古》1960年第1期,图版肆·1。

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[14] 同[4],图156。

- [15] 西安市文物保护考古所王自力、孙福喜编著《唐金乡县主墓》，文物出版社，2002年。
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- [39] 同[4]，图51、53。
- [40] 同[4]，图58—2。
- [41] 解峰、马先登《唐契苾明墓发掘记》，《文博》1998年第5期。
- [42] 同[4]，图95。
- [43] 《唐华清宫梨园、小汤遗址发掘简报》，《文物》1999年第3期；骆希哲编著《华清宫》，文物出版社，1998年，图版一六四·4。
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- [52] 同[46]，《唐代帝王陵墓》，页106—110。
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- [126] 徐州市博物馆《江苏徐州花马庄唐墓》,《考古》1997年第3期,“男立俑”。
- [127] 江苏省吴县文管会《江苏吴县姚桥头唐墓》,《文物》1987年第8期。

- [128] 新疆维吾尔自治区博物馆《吐鲁番县阿斯塔那—哈拉和卓古墓群发掘简报》,《文物》1973年第10期;新疆维吾尔自治区博物馆等《1973年吐鲁番阿斯塔那古墓群发掘简报》,《文物》1975年第7期;新疆博物馆考古队《阿斯塔那古墓群第二次发掘简报(1960年11月)》,《新疆文物》2000年第3、4期;新疆博物馆考古队《阿斯塔那古墓群第三次发掘简报(1960年)》,《新疆文物》2000年第3、4期;新疆文物考古研究所《阿斯塔那古墓群第十次发掘简报(1972—1973年)》,《新疆文物》2000年第3、4期;穆舜英主编《中国新疆古代艺术》,新疆摄影出版社,1990年,图版392、402—403。
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- [131] 《辽宁朝阳北朝及唐代墓葬》,《文物》1998年第3期。
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- [133] 金殿士《辽宁朝阳西大营子唐墓》,《文物》1959年第5期。
- [134] 天津市文化局考古发掘队《天津军粮城发现的唐代墓葬》,《考古》1963年第3期;李世瑜《古代渤海湾西部海岸遗迹及地下文物的初步调查研究》,《考古》1962年第12期,图版捌·7。
- [135] 方起东《集安高句丽墓葬壁画中的舞乐》,《文物》1980年第7期。
- [136] 《武昌东郊何家垅188号唐墓清理简报》,《文物参考资料》1957年第12期。
- [137] 四川省博物馆《四川万县唐墓》,《考古学报》1980年第4期。
- [138] 云南省文物考古研究所等《云南安宁县小石庄唐墓清理简报》,《文物》1993年第6期。
- [139] 陈万里编《陶俑》,中国古典艺术出版社,1957年,图三七、四八、五二、五七、六二。
- [140] 同[91],《走向盛唐——文化交流与融合》,图版169。
- [141] 李知宴《唐三彩生活用具》,《文物》1986年第6期。
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- [143] [宋]王溥撰《唐会要》卷二十《陵议》,中华书局,1955年,页395。
- [144] 陈国灿《乾陵石人群》,《中国建设》1983年第8期。
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- [146] 同[115]。
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- [149] 同[141],图三;李知宴《唐代瓷窑概况与唐瓷的分期》,《文物》1972年第3期。
- [150] 同[23],图一。
- [151] 中国古代书画鉴定组编《中国绘画全集·1》,文物出版社、浙江人民美术出版社,1997年,页154—157。

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- [153] 徐邦达《传世阎立本步辇图和肖翼赚兰亭图的时代、作者考辨》，《考古与文物》1980年第1期。
- [154] 同[129]，页229图二八。
- [155] 同[2]，页37；[54]，页15。
- [156] 同[31]，页35，图一一、一二。
- [157] 中国历史博物馆等编《天山古道东西风》，中国社会科学出版社，2002年，页189—190。
- [158] 同[2]；[30]，页63，图二八。
- [159] 同[46]，页133，图一。
- [160] 河南省博物馆编《洛阳唐三彩》，文物出版社，1980年，图版16；同[91]，《走向盛唐》图版169。
- [161] 同[96]，图版肆·1。
- [162] 《山西长治北石槽唐墓》，《考古》1965年第9期，图版玖·15。
- [163] 同[2]；宿白主编《中华人民共和国重大考古发现》，文物出版社，1999年，页390。
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- [166] 同[128]，《中国新疆古代艺术》，页156，图版402。
- [167] 同[31]，图四九—五一。
- [168] 云翔《唐章怀太子墓壁画客使图中“日本使节”质疑》，《考古》1984年第12期；王维坤《唐章怀太子墓壁画“客使图”辨析》，《考古》1996年第1期。
- [169] 孙机《唐俑中的昆仑和僧祇》，同[129]，《中国圣火》页251—259；秦浩《唐墓昆仑俑考释》，《南京大学学报》哲学社会科学版，1983年第2期；杜葆仁《从西安唐墓出土的非洲黑人陶俑谈起》，《新华文摘》1979年第9期；阮应祺《浅谈唐墓昆仑俑的历史背景》，《广东文物》1996年第2期。

祆教内婚及其在唐宋社会的遗痕

张 小 贵

根据学者们的研究,对家庭、婚姻持积极态度,是琐罗亚斯德教的一大特色。而其中最极端者是主张近亲结婚,即双亲和子女结婚,兄弟姐妹自行通婚^[1]。琐罗亚斯德教在中古时期传入中国,在唐代更以祆教名之,一度流行,与其它两种外来宗教摩尼教、景教并称三夷教。唐宋时代的祆教婚俗在多大程度上保存了本教传统,由于文献记载寥寥,考证殊为不易。元代俗文学作品中屡屡出现“火烧祆庙”的用典,颇疑与祆教婚俗给时人造成“淫秽之甚”的印象有关。本文试结合琐罗亚斯德教史,对汉文献记载的祆教内婚制略做考证,对祆庙如何由祈神之所变为幽会之地试加阐释,进而勾勒祆教内婚在唐宋社会的遗痕。

一 “诸夷之中最为丑秽”的祆教内婚

唐宋时代的祆教婚俗,见于时人对西域(主要是中亚和波斯)风俗的描述。开元中期(723—727)去天竺巡礼的新罗僧慧超在《往五天竺国传》中记载:“又从大食国已东,并是胡国。即是安国、曹国、史国、石骡国、米国、康国等。……又此六国总事火祆,不识佛法。唯康国有一寺,有一僧,又不解敬也。此等胡国,并剪鬓发。爱着白氍帽子。极恶风俗,婚姻交杂,纳母及姊妹为妻。波斯国亦纳母为妻。”^[2]8世纪中期(751—762)曾被大食人所俘而西行的杜环在其《经行记》中记载“诸国陆行之所经也,胡则一种,法有数般。有大食法、有大秦法、有寻寻法,其寻寻悉报于诸夷狄中最甚,当食不语。”^[3]这里,“悉报于诸夷狄中最甚”的寻寻法,一般被认为是祆教法^[4],可与慧超所记的中亚六国风俗相印证。其中,作为西粟特中心的安国,其婚俗似更引人注目:“(安息国)王姓昭武,与康国王同族。……风俗同于康国,唯妻其姊妹,及母子递相禽兽,此为异也。”^[5]此处的安息国显然即粟特安国,有《隋书》的相关记载为证:

安国,汉时安息国也。王姓昭武氏,与康国王同族,字设力登。妻,康国王女也。都在那密水南,城有五重,环以流水。宫殿皆为平头。王坐金驼座,高七八尺。每听政,与

妻相对,大臣三人评理国事。风俗同于康国,唯妻其姊妹,及母子递相禽兽,此为异也。

炆帝即位之后,遣司隶从事杜行满使于西域,至其国,得五色盐而返。^[6]

以上所述,主要为中亚粟特地区的祆教婚俗。而作为火祆教故乡的波斯国婚俗,与粟特地区情况类似,见于《周书·异域传》的记载:

(波斯国)俗事火祆神。婚合亦不择尊卑,诸夷之中,最为丑秽矣。民女年十岁以上有姿貌者,王收养之,有勋勋人,即以分赐。死者多弃尸于山,一月治服。城外有人别居,唯知丧葬之事,号为不净人。若入城市,摇铃自别。以六月为岁首,尤重七月七日,十二月一日。其日,民庶以上,各相命召,设会作乐,以极欢娱。又每年正月二十日,各祭其先死者。^[7]

《魏书》卷一百二、《北史》卷九十七所载与《周书》略同^[8]。《隋书》亦记载波斯国:“妻其姊妹。”^[9]可见这种风俗在中亚、波斯等地的流行。以上所述为父系集团内婚制的极端例子,亦即父女为婚,母子为婚和兄妹为婚。尽管汉文典籍记载其为“诸夷之中最为丑秽”,而正统的琐罗亚斯德教却把这种族内血亲婚目为功德和虔诚的善行。

根据文献记载,琐罗亚斯德教的最近亲婚例(khvaetudatha)首见于波斯阿契美尼(Achaemenian)王朝(前600—330年)初期的君主刚比西斯(Cambyses,约公元前530—522年在位),他娶了两个自己的姐妹为妻^[10]。根据希罗多德(Herodotus,公元前484—430/20年)的记载:

刚比西斯爱上了他的一个姊妹并想立刻娶她为妻,但他的打算是违反惯例的,于是他便把王家法官召了来,问他们是否有一条法律,可以容许任何有这样欲望的人娶他自己的姊妹。这些王家法官是从波斯人中间选出来的人,他们的职务是终身的,除非他们被发现做了什么不正当的事情,他们是不会被解职的;正是这些人判决波斯的诉讼事件,并且解释那里的世世代代传下来的各种法律;一切问题都是要向他们请教的。这些人向刚比西斯作了一个既公正又安全的回答,这就是,他们找不到一条可以使兄弟有权娶自己的姊妹的法律,但是他们又找到一条法律,而根据这条法律则波斯国王可以做他所愿意做的任何事情。这样,他们由于害怕刚比西斯而没有破坏法律,然而为了不致由于维持这条法律而自己有性命的危险,他们又找到了另外一条法律来给想和自己的姊妹结婚的人辩护。因此刚比西斯立刻便娶了他所热恋的姊妹;但不久他又娶了另一个姊妹为妻。^[11]

与希罗多德同时代的吕底亚(Lydia)的桑瑟斯(Xanthos)也谈及:“麻葛(The Magian,琐罗亚斯德教僧侣)男子与他们的母亲同居,他们也与自己的女儿和姐妹有同等关系。”^[12]考虑到阿拉美、小亚部分地区也存在这种与母权制相关的血缘婚,玛丽·博伊斯教授(Mary Boyce)认为“可能是西部伊朗人吸收了异教崇拜强大母亲神的传统,后逐渐行于整个琐罗亚斯德教

社区。”^[13]

古罗马历史学家库尔提乌斯(Curtius),记录了在亚历山大(公元前356—323年)东征期间,粟特(Sogdia)诺塔卡(Nautaca)地区总督西西米特勒斯(Sisimithres)娶自己的母亲为妻,并生有两子。在粟特人中间,父母与子女结婚是合法的。普鲁塔克(Plutarch)也注意到这一风俗,声称亚历山大对此加以压制,让波斯人“尊重他们的母亲,不要与之婚媾”^[14]。

萨珊王朝(Sasanian,公元224—651年)时期,开国君主阿尔达希尔(Ardashir,约226—240年在位)就娶了自己的姐妹丹娜(Denak)为妻;沙普尔一世(Shapur I,公元239年—272年在位)则立自己的女儿阿杜尔·阿娜希特(Adur-Anahid)为后^[15]。时任大祭司的克德尔(Kirdar)甚至鼓励这种近亲婚姻为虔诚的功德^[16]。当时的基督教徒Basil也曾报道这种奇特的婚俗,并认为其是不合法的^[17]。萨珊王朝后期,著名的祭司米赫兰(Mihram-Gushnasp)七岁时就熟知琐罗亚斯德教圣经,并虔诚遵守本教近亲结婚的风俗,娶了自己的姐妹为妻^[18]。到了11世纪,帕拉维语(Pahlavi)文书仍然记有琐罗亚斯德教兄妹结婚的例子^[19]。14世纪的文献则记录了祭司们极力主张中表等旁系血亲结婚。此后这种近亲婚渐成为琐罗亚斯德教社区中最为流行的婚姻形式^[20]。

琐罗亚斯德教实行这种族内血亲婚姻,从教义上认为其是“功德和虔诚的善行”。最早的记录出现在《亚斯那》(Yasna 12.9)中:“我向崇拜马兹达(Mazda)的宗教效忠,摒弃进攻,放下武器,行khvaetvadatha,这是正当的。”^[21]《阿维斯陀经》训示道:

最为正直而又正直的人,便是奉我马兹达教的信徒,他们一遵我教近亲结婚之规矩行事。^[22]

帕拉维文经典也把近亲婚姻称为是“对付恶神阿里曼的有力武器”^[23]。

当然,我们并没有找到琐罗亚斯德教要求教徒必须父女、母子及兄妹通婚的证据,也没有关于不行此类婚姻的处罚规定。穆格山出土粟特文书Nov. 3和Nov. 4,是订于康国王突昏十年(710年)的婚约,表明康国上层社会的婚姻生活已经具有相当完备的法律形态^[24],因此慧超和杜环笔下“极恶风俗,婚姻杂交,纳母及姊妹为妻”,及“烝报于诸夷狄中最甚”之类的血缘群婚残迹,“就只能看作是中亚两河流域婚姻制度发展不平衡在唐人行纪中的反映,而不应当用它来概括唐代九姓胡婚俗的全貌”^[25]。可以这样说,血亲婚为祆教的独特婚俗,但并不能概括祆教婚俗的全貌。

与琐罗亚斯德教同源于波斯的摩尼教,在阿拉伯的阿拔斯朝(750—1258年)时,西亚的教徒也曾坚持近亲结婚,主张与自己的姐妹或女儿结婚^[26]。然而,摩尼创教之初禁止教徒结婚^[27],中东和西亚的摩尼教团之所以有此变通,缘因教主摩尼被处死后,他们首当其冲遭到残酷迫害,为了求得生存,不得不根据当地的社会条件,不断改变自己宗教的内容和形式。而八、九世纪中亚的摩尼教僧侣却还恪守摩尼的种种清规戒律^[28]。似可反证这种族内血亲

婚为祆教所有。

至于文献记载的“烝母报嫂”类的收继婚,虽然也被汉人目为丑秽,但与祆教的族内血亲婚毕竟不同,不可混淆。如《旧唐书》记载,党项人“妻其庶母及伯叔母、嫂、子弟之妇,淫秽烝褻,诸夷中最为甚”,“然不婚同姓”^[29]。这种收继婚尚流行于突厥、匈奴、乌桓等其他民族,他们不但不是杂乱无章地上下“聚麀”,且对于犯奸的行为,常处以严重的刑罚^[30]。

血缘婚姻,作为一种习俗,是原始社会的遗存,是愚昧无知的产物;然而琐罗亚斯德教的血缘内婚,却是本教的善行和功德,汉人目其为丑秽之甚,自是缘于不同文化背景所致。

二 祆教内婚与“同姓不婚”

“纳母及姊妹为妻”的祆教内婚制之所以被汉籍目为“极恶风俗”、“诸夷之中最为丑秽”,显然与古代中国“同姓不婚”等婚姻禁忌有关。一般认为,同姓不婚在中国始自周代,其原因既有对“男女同姓,其生不蕃”(《左传·僖公二十三年》)等自然现象的顾虑,也有基于“异姓则异德,异德则异类”(《国语·晋语四》)等社会现象的解释^[31]。到了春秋战国,同姓不婚的限制逐渐减弱。如鲁哀公曾娶同姓女子为妃,卢蒲癸也娶了同姓女子为妻^[32]。汉代吕后把妹妹嫁给吕平,王莽娶王威的女儿,魏王基认为与王沈虽同姓而异源,乃娶王沈之女为媳,晋刘聪以刘康公不同祖而与其女成婚^[33]。这是因为姓氏的性质随社会结构的发展而变迁,同姓与同宗已不能一致了。

到了唐代,同姓不婚的限制又得以恢复。唐代法律规定“诸同姓为婚者,各徙二年。缌麻以上,以奸论。”^[34]所谓“缌麻”,是丧服五服中最轻的一种,指较为疏远的亲属或亲戚,如高祖父母、曾伯叔祖父母、中表兄弟等等。也就是说,唐朝法律不仅规定同姓不得结婚,而且如果近亲结婚也要以犯奸科罪。唐李回为建州刺史时,因“取同姓女子入宅”及其它事由,被仇人锻成大狱,贬为抚州司马,最后在贬所死去^[35]。这是唐代“同姓不婚”的显例。另外,唐代曾任余杭太守的张守信,欲将自己的女儿嫁与富阳尉张瑶,后因人提醒,及时制止了这桩“同姓”婚姻。而任汉州雒川县令的李逢年,也差点娶了蜀中望族李札之妹,后亦因“同姓”而终止婚姻^[36]。可见“同姓不婚”观念在时人中之流行。宋代法律规定与唐相同,对同姓不婚的规定也是极为严格的^[37]。以后各代也各有对同姓不婚的规定,只是细节略有不同而已。同时,由于中国古代极为重视伦常,因此关于宗亲、中表以及其他亲属之间禁止婚姻的规定也是极其严格的^[38]。虽然从历史上看,姓氏有“同名异实”或“姓同源异”的事例,但在相当长的时期内,限制同姓为婚就等于禁止同族为婚,与之互为补充的是繁复严格的“近亲禁婚制”。在这种严格的婚姻禁忌下,波斯和中亚粟特人的祆教婚俗“纳母及姊妹为妻”自然容易被汉人目为“诸夷之中最为丑秽”了^[39]。

根据学者们的研究,中古中国流行的祆教以粟特人为主。关于入华粟特人的婚姻形态,不少学者都指出,在很长时间里,粟特人中间保持着内部通婚的习惯^[40]。陈海涛先生以康、安两姓的碑志材料,论证安史之乱以前,入华粟特人主要是内部通婚,同时与其他入华少数民族通婚也较普遍,而与汉人通婚则较少见。安史之乱后,粟特人内部通婚明显减少,与其他少数民族通婚几乎不见,与汉人通婚明显增加^[41]。荣新江先生则讨论了粟特人在聚落内部的婚姻状态,除了三个特例外(一是支茂先娶康氏,再娶王氏;安延娶汉姓刘氏;史诃耽先娶康氏,再娶汉族张氏),“所有已知的唐朝前期粟特人的婚姻资料,都表明是内部通婚。这中间有些人必然原本是生活在粟特聚落当中的,如六胡州大首领安菩;又如697年去世的康氏,是康国首领之女,夫子则是安国首领。这些资料充分说明,在粟特聚落没有离散之前,粟特人主要是采取内部通婚的制度,时而与其他胡人(特别是伊朗系统的胡人)通婚,而基本上未见与汉人通婚的例子。”^[42]当然胡人初入异邦,由于各种关系主要与同族人为婚,应是正常情况。由于墓志所见有限,虽然唐前期粟特人的婚姻资料表明其主要是内部通婚,但我们并无直接证据表明粟特人排斥与汉人结婚,因而对入华粟特人的婚姻态度实很难遽下定论。这些胡姓联婚的实例,虽然同属于粟特人,但是很难说他们在血缘上具有近亲关系,因此就胡姓联婚这一点还不足以证明其婚俗的祆教属性。当然,上文已经说明近亲结婚是祆教的极大功德,却不是教徒必须遵守的义务,所以这些胡姓联婚的婚例当有不少属于祆教范畴。

另外,从出土墓志中,尚可发现以下数组在华胡姓居民同姓联婚的事例:

一、陕西博物馆收藏的《米继芬墓志》,记载米继芬“其先西域米国人”,配偶为“夫人米氏”^[43]。根据墓志记载,米继芬幼子“僧思圆,住大秦寺”,有学者据此断定米氏应为信仰景教的粟特家庭^[44]。僧思圆为景教僧,与其父信仰何教是两回事,就一个人的信仰来断定整个家族的信仰,理由恐怕并不充分。

二、黄文弼《高昌砖集》所获的《唐神龙元年(705)康富多夫人墓志铭》:“康富多夫人康氏以十月廿四日亥时崩,愕栖宿之。”^[45]

三、莫高窟第180窟题记中,明确记载曹元德女第十五小娘子“出适曹氏”^[46]。就曹元德之籍贯,莫高窟第100甬道题记有“谯郡开国公曹元德”^[47],谯郡在今天的安徽亳县,三国中魏国的创立者曹操就出自这一门,谯郡曹姓后发展为汉族大姓。但是荣新江先生指出敦煌归义军曹氏统治者当为粟特后裔^[48]。考虑到曹元德女“出适曹氏”,毫不避讳唐律“同姓不婚”的规定,亦可反证曹氏应来自中亚粟特曹国。

四、康君与夫人康氏。《大唐故康夫人墓志并序》载:“游击将军、上柱国、赏绯鱼袋康府君夫人康氏,会稽人也。去乾元元年二月廿五日,终于醴泉坊里之私第。……春秋五十有七,以乾元三年二月廿二日,葬于长安县城西龙首原,礼也。”^[49]唐初醴泉坊有祆祠两所,皆见于韦述《两京新记》卷三的记载:“醴泉坊西北隅祆祠”^[50],“西京醴泉坊,十字街南之东,

波斯胡寺。注：仪凤二年（西六七七年），波斯王卑路斯奏请于此置波斯寺”。关于此波斯胡寺，《长安志》卷十的记载尤为详细：“（醴泉坊）街南之东，旧波斯胡寺。注：仪凤二年（公元六七七年），波斯王卑路斯奏请，于此置波斯寺。景龙中（公元708年），幸臣宗楚客筑此。寺地入其宅，遂移寺于布政坊之西南隅袄祠之西。”^[51]私第在醴泉坊的康氏夫妇，极有可能同信袄教。

另外，学者们也注意到贞观年间任陪戎副尉的康武通夫妇，也可能是同姓联婚^[52]。

遵“蕃人多以部落称姓，因以为氏”^[53]的胡姓汉译通例，米、康、曹同姓为婚，也许只表明夫妻双方来自同一国籍，并不具有血缘关系。因此上举婚例，实难体现袄教血亲婚的文化内涵。

就目前所知，现可确认的人华袄教徒婚例，应是晚唐苏谅与马氏夫妇。1955年冬，陕西省文物管理委员会，在西安西郊大土门村附近，发现一方晚唐苏谅妻马氏巴列维文（Pahlavi，或译作婆罗钵文、帕拉维文）与汉文双语合璧墓志，为白色石灰石，略呈方形，宽39.5厘米，高35.5厘米，厚7厘米，无盖^[54]。志面刻有两种志文：汉字刻在下半部，共7行，每行6至8字不等，最后一行3个字，共44字。志文为：

左神策军散兵马使苏谅妻马氏，己巳生，年廿六，于咸通十五年甲午岁二月辛卯建廿八日丁巳申时身亡，故记^[55]。

上半为婆罗钵文，共6行，横书，与古汉字习惯的直书不同。马氏的婆罗钵文墓志表明其是虔诚的袄教徒。为解读该志文，半个世纪以来，各国学者付出了大量努力，其中不乏歧异之处^[56]。张广达先生综合各家成果，概括婆文墓志大意为：

1—2行 此（乃）苏谅（Sūrēn?）家族之故兵马使XXX的女儿、故马氏之墓。

3—4行 亡于（己）故伊嗣俟之二百四十年（872）、唐朝之二六〇年（874）、永胜之君、至圣天子咸通十五年（874）之 Spandarmat 月 Spandarmat 日

5—6行 建卯（?）二十八日。（下句动词 YHWWNT' t/bavād 为祈愿语气）（愿）她归位于阿胡拉马兹达和诸天使（身侧），永生于天堂。愿她安息^[57]。

其中与本文论题直接相关的是马氏与苏谅的关系：据汉文志文，马氏是苏谅之妻；而据婆文志文，首先对之解读的日本著名伊朗学家伊藤义教认为马氏是苏谅的女儿，他曾将这种亦女亦妻的疑难解归结为伊朗的血亲相婚的习俗^[58]。但是，许多学者对此未表首肯。时至今日，马氏夫妇是否具有血缘关系，仍未有定论，因而此例婚姻并不能用以证明人华袄教徒曾虔诚地遵循本教血亲婚^[59]。考虑到上述的社会背景，亦很难证明马氏夫妇为父女通婚。

由此可以看出，即便这些人华胡裔中不乏袄教信徒，其亦极难保持本教奉为功德的血亲婚。至于学者们研究的胡汉通婚的例子，虽然很难遽断其已非袄教信徒，但彼等在婚俗方面保持本教传统的信念更加不坚定了。究其原因，当求之于陈寅恪先生的卓识：

夫僧徒戒本本从释迦部族共和国之法制蛻蝉而来,今竟数典忘祖,轻重倒置,至于斯极。橘迁地而变为枳,吾民族同化之力可谓大矣。但支那佛教信徒,关于君臣父子之观念,后虽同化,当其初期,未尝无高僧大德,不顾一切忌讳,公然出而辩护其教中无父无君之说者。独至男女性交诸要义,则此土自来佛教著述,大抵噤默不置一语。如小乘部僧尼戒律中,颇有涉及者,因以“在家人勿看”之语标识之。((《高僧传》—《康僧会传》云:“(孙皓)因求看沙门戒,会以戒文禁秘,不可轻宣。”疑与此同。)盖佛藏中学说之类是者,纵为笃信之教徒,以经神州传统道德所薰习之故,亦复不能奉受。特以其为圣典之文,不敢昌言抵斥。惟有隐秘闭藏,禁绝其流布而已。莲花色尼出家因缘中聚麀恶报不载于敦煌写本者,即由于此^[60]。

通过这段有关文化交流中客体文化如何适应主体文化的宏论,陈先生道出了中国传统道德中的人伦之始亦即“夫妇”之义的重要,正是由于此,佛法初来时虽敢昌言“无父无君”之说,对类乎莲花色尼因“聚麀恶报”而出家的因缘,却大抵噤默不置一语。这样看来,原本崇尚“纳母及姊妹为妻”的袄教徒,在入华以后,自是很难实行这种“聚麀乱伦”之婚。更何况若依陈先生“(吾国中古史)种族之分,多系于其所受之文化,而不在其所承之血统”的观念,唐宋时代出土墓志所披露多为“世代甚远久”的胡姓居民,对其信仰的观察必须注重世代层次,从而做出精确的分析^[61]。

三 “火烧袄庙”的历史分析

袄祠(或袄庙)是袄教徒的重要宗教活动场所,《通典》卷四十《职官典》有载:“武德四年,置袄祠及官,常有群胡奉事,取火呪诅。”^[62]敦煌文书也记载了祈神赛袄的宗教活动。据《沙州图经》(P. 2005),敦煌地区的袄神乃与土地神、风伯神、雨师神一道,归入杂神之列:“(袄神)右在州东一里,立舍,画神主,总有廿龛。其院周回一百步。”^[63]敦煌文书《敦煌二十咏》(P. 2784)第十二首《安城袄咏》,描述了这所沙州东袄神庙的祈神赛袄活动:

板筑安城日,神祠与此兴。一州祈景祚,万类仰休征。

苹藻来无乏,精灵若有凭。更有雩祭处,朝夕酒如绳^[64]。

敦煌文书《伊州地志残卷》(S. 367),写于光启元年(885),述及敦煌北面伊州伊吾县袄庙的宗教仪式活动:

火袄庙中有素书形像无数。有袄主翟槃随者,高昌未破以前,槃随因入朝至京,即下袄神,因以利刀刺腹,左右通过,出腹外,截弃其余,以发系其本,手执刀两头,高下绞转,说国家所举百事,皆顺天心,神灵[相]助,无不征验。神没之后,僵仆而倒,气息奄[奄],七日即平复如旧。有司奏闻,制授游击将军^[65]。

唐张鹭《朝野僉载》卷三的记载可与之印证^[66]。

唐末五代,东京城北的袄祠庙祝虽已渐次汉化,但该庙仍以祠神闻名:“东京城北有袄庙(呼烟切)。袄神本出西域,盖胡神也。与大秦穆护同入中国,俗以火神祠之。京师人畏其威灵,甚重之。”^[67]到了宋代,纳入中原王朝祭礼的袄庙,也仍以祭祀为主,《宋史》卷一百二《礼志》载:

建隆元年(960),太祖平泽、潞,仍祭袄庙、泰山、城隍,征扬州、河东,并用此礼。

初,学士院不设配位,及是问礼官,言:“祭必有配,报如常祀。当设配坐。”又诸神祠、天齐、五龙用中祠,袄祠、城隍用羊一,八簋,八豆。旧制,不祈四海。帝曰:“百谷之长,润泽及物,安可阙礼?”特命祭之。^[68]

《宋会要辑稿》第十八册《礼》十八《祁雨》:

国朝凡水旱灾异,有祈报之礼。祈用酒脯醢,报如常祀……京城……五龙堂、城隍庙、袄祠……以上并敕建遣官……大中祥符二年(1009)二月诏:如闻近岁命官祈雨……又诸神祠,天齐、五龙用中祠例,袄祠、城隍用羊,八簋,八豆,既设牲牢礼料,其御厨食、翰林酒、纸钱、驼马等,更不复用。^[69]

然而到了元代俗文学作品中,袄庙则由祈神之所变为幽会之地。元曲时演袄神,陈垣先生早有注意,惟对此类资料与火袄教之关系,持谨慎态度:

明万历间臧晋叔编元曲选,卷首载陶九成论曲,仙吕宫中有袄神急一出,注曰,与双调不同;双调中亦有袄神急一出,亦注曰,与仙吕不同。元曲中既时演袄神,则袄神至元时,不独未曾消灭,且更形诸歌咏,播之管弦,想其意义已与中国旧俗之火神相混,非复如原日西来之火袄教矣。元曲选卷首又有李直夫所撰火烧袄庙一出,与上述袄神急两出,均未入选,不能得其词,莫由定其为中国火神,抑西来袄教,为可惜耳。朝野新声太平乐府卷六有仙吕袄神急一曲,朱庭玉撰,玩其词意,与袄教无关,盖数典忘其祖矣!^[70]

尔后,日本学者神田喜一郎、石田干之助等辑录了若干元曲中涉及袄庙的例子,并直当火袄教资料来考证^[71]。40年代,我国学者刘铭恕先生系统辑录了元杂剧中所见的袄庙资料,对其含义及与宋代袄神灵应之关系进行了解释^[72]。罗新先生也补充了前人未引及的三条元曲袄教资料^[73]。元曲中出现的袄庙,系文学上的用典,林悟殊先生已经详辨,此不赘述^[74]。

元曲中的袄庙用典,主要表现男女风情故事,这一点是很明显的,仅举前人引及的数例为证。王实甫《崔莺莺待月西厢记》第二本《崔莺莺夜听琴杂剧》第四折:

(未见旦科)(夫人云)小姐近前拜了哥哥者!(末背云)呀,声息不好了也!(旦云)呀,俺娘变了卦也!(红云)这相思又索害也。(旦唱)[雁儿落]荆棘刺怎动挪!死没腾无回豁!措支刺不对答!软兀刺难存坐![得胜令]谁承望这即即世世老婆婆,着莺莺做妹妹拜哥哥。白茫茫溢起蓝桥水,不邓邓点着袄庙火。碧澄澄清波,扑刺刺将比

目鱼分破；急攘攘因何，疙搭地把双眉锁纳合^[75]。

石子章《秦修然竹坞听琴》第四折：

（正旦唱）[甜水令]你只待掀倒秦楼，填平洛浦，推翻袄庙，不住的絮叨叨。为什么也丢了皇冠，脱了道服，解了环绦？直凭般戒行坚牢！[折桂令]多应是欲火三焦，一时焰起，遍体焚烧。似这等难控难持，便待要相偎相傍，也顾不得人笑人嘲。想着你瘦岩岩精神渐槁，何况我娇滴滴颜色方妖？（老道姑云）他原是我相公，被土贼赶散。也比你偷的？（正旦唱）你既有夫主相抛，我岂无亲事堪招？总不如两家儿各自团圆，落的个尽世里同享欢乐。^[76]

郑德辉《迷青琐倩女离魂》第四折：

（魂旦唱）[四门子]中间里列一道红芳径，教俺美夫妻并马儿行。咱如今富贵还乡井，方信道耀门闾画锦荣。若见俺娘，那一会惊，刚道来的话儿不中听，是这等门厮当，户厮撞，怎教咱做妹妹哥哥答应。[古水仙子]全不想这姻亲是旧盟，则待教袄庙火刮刮匝匝烈焰生，将水面上鸳鸯忒，楞楞腾分开交颈，疏刺刺沙鞣雕鞍撒了锁，轻轻琅琅汤偷香处唱号提铃，支楞楞争弦断了不续碧玉筝，吉丁丁瑯精砖上摔破菱花镜，扑通通冬井底坠银瓶。^[77]

郑德辉《伯梅香骗翰林风月杂剧》第四折：

[金蕉叶]这的是桃源洞花开艳阳，须不比袄庙火烟飞浩荡。（正旦推白云）去。（旦儿叫云）是什么人？（白慌科云）是小生。（正旦唱）阳台上云雨渺茫，可做了蓝桥水洪波泛涨。^[78]

无名氏《风雨像生货郎旦》第三折：

（云）哥哥，你肯跟我回河南府去，凭着我说唱货郎儿，我也养的你到老。何如？（李彦和云）罢罢罢，我情愿丢了这般好生意，跟的你去。（副旦云）你可辞了你那主人家去。（李彦和向古门云）主人家，我认着一个亲眷，我如今回家去也。牛羊都交还与你，并不曾少了一只。（副旦云）跟的我去来波。（唱）[随尾]袄庙火，宿世缘，牵牛织女长生愿，多管为残花几片，误刘晨迷入武陵源。^[79]

根据现有资料，上引诸典极有可能来自以下这个袄庙幽会的故事。明彭大翼纂著《山堂肆考·宫集·帝属》第三十九卷《公主》条：

（幸袄庙）蜀志：昔蜀帝生公主，诏乳母陈氏乳养。陈氏携幼子与公主居禁中，约十馀年。后以宫禁，逐而出者六载。其子以思公主疾亟。陈氏入宫，有忧色。公主询其故，阴以实对公主。遂托幸袄庙为名，期与子会。公主入庙，子睡沉。公主遂解幼时所弄玉环，附之子怀而去。子醒见之，怨气成火而庙焚。按袄庙，胡神庙也^[80]。

清代类书《渊鉴类函》曾引用这则故事^[81]。神田喜一郎认为这个与袄庙有关的故事，应流行

于元代^[82]。已故庞俊先生认为这个故事应出自《法苑珠林》所引《大智度论》的记载^[83]。文见《法苑珠林》卷二十一：

又智度论云：“女人相者，若得敬待，则令夫心高；若敬待情舍，则令夫心怖。女人如是，恒以烦恼忧怖与人，云何可近亲好？如说国王有女，名曰狗牟头。有捕鱼师，名术波伽，随道而行，遥见王女在高楼上，窗中见面。想像染著，心不暂舍，弥历日月，不能饮食。母问其故，以情答母：我见王女，心不能忘。母喻儿言：汝是小人，王女尊贵，不可得也。儿言：我心愿乐，不能暂忘。若不如意，不能活也。母为子故，入王宫中，常送肥鱼鸟肉以遗王女，而不取价。王女怪而问之：欲求何愿？母白王女：愿却左右，当以情告。我唯一子，敬慕王女，情结成病，命不云远。愿垂愍念，赐其生命。王女言：汝去，至月十五日于某甲天祠中，住天像后。母还语子：汝愿已得。告之如上。沐浴新衣，在天像后住。王女至时，白其父王：我有不吉，须至天祠，以求吉福。王言：大善！即严车五百乘，出至天祠。既到，敕诸从者齐门而止，独入天祠。天神思惟：此不应尔。王为施主，不可令此小人毁辱王女。即厌此人，令睡不觉。王女既入，见其睡重，推之不寤，即以璎珞直十万两金遗之而去。后此人得觉，见有璎珞，又问众人，知王女来，情愿不遂，忧恨懊恼，淫火内发，自烧而死。以是证知，女人心，不择贵贱，唯欲是从。”^[84]

由于文献记载缺略，我们无从肯定火烧袄庙的用典究竟起于何时。上引《秦修然竹坞听琴》的作者石子章为由金入元时人，与元好问（1190—1257年）同时代。明涵虚子《太和正音谱》记有《火烧袄庙》一剧^[85]，作者李直夫也是元初之女真人^[86]，虽然该剧已失传，仍可说明这类故事当在元代之前就已流行。上文宋代诸多记载皆表明袄庙的祭祀功能，则该故事的流行很可能是宋末元初。其时，人们对袄祠的真实情况已不甚了了，遂将佛经的故事比附发生于袄祠，亦未可知。

这里值得注意的是，男女私自幽会，虽然亦不合于婚礼规定，因“仅由男求之，再经过聘娶程序，则仍目为私诱，为淫荡”，然而较之骨肉乱伦导致上下失序的禽兽行径，则有不及。关于男女私会之事，历代皆有。所以中国文献对胡人“烝报”的恶俗，全部都是记境外之胡，至于入华之胡，并无其事。但是把袄庙与男女风情之事相连，则既不触犯该教禁忌，亦有汉地风俗可循，固并不足奇。而用“火烧”袄庙对这种私会的否定，则表明袄教入华日久，在观念上对这种不合礼法之事也持反对态度，或可从另一方面证明这一外来宗教华化之深。

对于“火烧袄庙”的用典，林先生指出：“元代俗文学作品中涉及男女之情，屡以袄为典，要准确追溯其出实，看来不易。但在唐代中国流行的三夷教中，独有袄教在文学作品中，被与男女之情挂钩，以至成为典故，这倒不难解释。缘因袄教与摩尼教、景教不同，完全不存在禁欲主义；其在西域胡人中最为流行，而西域胡人婚姻关系的状况，自来就给中国人留下‘淫秽之甚’的印象。故民间把男女之情的故事设定在袄庙，并不触犯该教禁忌。”^[87] 袄教初传

之时,自以胡人信仰为主,而汉人多明其为外来宗教,对境外与境内之胡在婚俗上的差异,多能客观记录。宋代以后,祆神进入了中国的万神殿,其作为外来宗教的特征日益减弱,如宋代董道《广川画跋》卷四《书常彦辅祆神像》云:

元佑八年(1093)七月,常君彦辅就开宝寺之文殊院,遇寒热疾,大惧不良。及夜,祷于祆神祠。明日,良愈。乃祀于庭,又图像归事之。属某书,且使教知神之休也。祆祠,世所以奉梵相也。其相希异,即经所谓摩醯首罗。有大神威,普救一切苦,能摄伏四方,以卫佛法。当隋之初,其法始至中夏,立祠颁政坊。常有番人奉事,聚火祝诅,奇幻变怪。至有出腹决肠,吞火蹈刃,放下俚佣人,就以诅誓,取为信重。唐祠令有萨宝府官主司,又有梵祝以赞于礼事,其制甚重,在当时为显祠。今君以祷获应,既应则祠,既祠则又使文传,其礼至矣。与得悉唐国顺大闾宾同号祆神者,则有别也。^[88]

董道以追溯的口吻描述了隋唐之际祆教流行的情况,但却误将祆神与佛教大自在天(摩醯首罗)连类而书。至于遇寒热疾的常彦辅夜祷祆神祠而良愈,则看不出与祆教本身有何联系了。正是因为通过追溯祆教的西域起源来对其进行了解,时人的认识可能更多地停留在对境外之胡的描述,因而将其婚俗上的淫秽成分,与男女私会等不合礼法的行为相连,后又成为文学作品中的用典。

文学作品中频频出现男女风情故事,与唐代贞元(785—805年)之后社会风俗的变化不无关系。李肇《唐国史补》下云:“长安风俗,自贞元侈于游宴。”^[89]杜牧之感怀诗谓:“至于贞元末,风流恣绮靡。”^[90]陈寅恪先生认为倡伎文学的兴盛与高宗武后以来进士科的兴起有关,缘其重词赋而不重经学,尚才华而不尚礼法,为浮薄放荡之徒所归聚。进士科举者之任诞无忌,乃极于懿僖(860—881)之代。而其发生,则始于贞元时代的社会变化:“贞元之时,朝廷政治方面,则以藩镇暂能维持均势,德宗方以文治粉饰其苟安之局。民间社会方面,则久经乱离,略得一端息之会,故亦趋于嬉娱游乐。因此上下相应,成为一种崇尚文词,矜诨风流之风气。”^[91]

我们考察一下唐代诗人笔下的“酒家胡”形象,也可看出这一时代变化。唐初被称为“斗酒学士”的王绩光顾胡人酒肆,对酒家胡并无特别的描述:“有客须教饮,无钱可别沽。来时常道贳,惭愧酒家胡。”^[92]盛唐诗仙李白(701—762)笔下的“酒家胡”还只是“延客醉金樽”的当垆胡姬:

胡姬貌如花,当垆笑春风,笑春风,舞罗衣,君今不醉将安归?(《前有樽酒行二首》其二)

五陵年少金市东,银鞍白马度春风。落花踏尽游何处,笑入胡姬酒肆中。(《少年行二首》其二)

银鞍白鼻驄,绿地障泥锦。细雨春风花落时,挥鞭直就胡姬饮。(《白鼻驄》)

双歌二胡姬,更奏远清朝。举酒挑朔雪,从君不相饶。《醉后赠王历阳》)

何处可为别?长安青绮门。胡姬招素手,延客醉金樽。《送裴十八图南归嵩山二首》^[93]

到了唐代后期,胡姬则成为留宿客人的娼妓了。元和十年(815年)登第的施肩吾《戏郑申府》云:“年少郑郎那解愁,春来闲卧酒家楼。胡姬若拟邀他宿,挂却金鞭系紫骝。”^[94]和元稹(779—831年)同时代的诗人张祜《白鼻騮》:“为底胡姬酒,长来白鼻騮。摘莲抛水上,郎意在浮花。”^[95]都使这些原本当垆卖酒的胡姬形象蒙上了暧昧的色彩。到了五代十国时,波斯胡女竟蒙上了淫秽的恶名。《新五代史·南汉世家》记载刘铢“与宫婢波斯女等淫戏后宫,不复出省事”^[96],将胡人女性的形象毁坏到极至。在唐代社会生活中,“酒家胡”或“胡姬”是屡见于诗文的一种职业女性^[97]。既然唐代入华的祆教徒以西域胡人为主,这些“酒家胡”中当然不乏祆教徒。即便不是如此,时人或许也会把这些胡人与祆教相连。到了唐代后期,这些胡人女性往往与娼妓相连,恐也为文学作品以“火烧祆庙”来描述男女风情埋下了伏笔。

到了元代,“火烧祆庙”成为文学作品的用典,而完全失去其宗教意义,这一过程,也正是祆教逐渐汉化的过程。在这一过程中,祆教父女、母子、兄妹杂交的婚俗给汉人留下污秽的印象,与后世的文学作品屡以“火烧祆庙”来表现男女之情,恐不无关系。

注 释

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[94]《全唐诗》(增订本)第八册,卷494,页5655。

[95]《全唐诗》(增订本)第八册,卷511,页5872。

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古代蒙古的饮金为誓^{〔1〕}

党 宝 海

古代蒙古人重视通过立誓来达成合作。立誓双方根据誓言的内容观察对方此后的行动,以此决定自己相应的态度和举措。

蒙古人立誓的仪式有很多种,常见的有折箭立誓、杀牲立誓、对天立誓等。本文所要讨论的是古代蒙古一种独特的立誓方式——饮金为誓。其具体形式是,立誓的双方除了宣誓以外,还要通过饮含有金屑、金粉的饮料(通常是酒)来进一步确认誓言的牢靠不可动摇。

饮金立誓的方式在成吉思汗时期已经存在。西夏大臣曲也怯律和蒙古贵族盟誓就是“屑金和酒,饮以为盟”。虞集《道园类稿》(《元人珍本文集丛刊》本)卷42《立只理威忠惠公神道碑》记载:

曲也怯律公仕西夏,官至金紫光禄大夫、平章政事。太祖[成吉思汗]天兵至河西, [中略],时夏人未服从也。围其城,五旬弗解,夏人弗能支。遣金紫以讲和,使见太祖和林,奉夏主之女请为购以解。太祖命金紫与札刺可抹哥那颜屑金和酒,饮以为盟,约为兄弟。抹哥,贵族重臣;饮金,国之重盟也。

西夏与蒙古和亲是在成吉思汗第三次攻打西夏的1209年(太祖四年)^{〔2〕}。由此可见,蒙古人在那时已有饮金屑酒立誓的习俗了。

虞集在文中说饮金是“国之重盟”,这在蒙古史上可以找到大量例证。1269年蒙古三大汗国的会盟就采用了这种形式。

拖雷之子蒙哥成功地从窝阔台系手中夺取了蒙古大汗之位,但是窝阔台的子孙并不甘心失败。他们反抗蒙哥、忽必烈的斗争一直时隐时显地进行,到窝阔台之孙海都时期达到高潮。海都联合钦察汗国的忙哥帖木儿汗,通过艰苦的东西征战,一度成为中亚霸主。为了阻止海都力量的壮大,忽必烈在中亚与察合台汗八剌结为同盟。两大阵营一直攻战不休。

1269年春,窝阔台汗国、钦察汗国、察合台汗国为了缓解因争夺中亚引起的矛盾,在塔刺思草原(今哈萨克斯坦江布尔一带)举行忽里勒台大会,海都、八剌亲自赴会,忙哥帖木儿汗则派自己的叔父别儿哥彻儿作为代表。他们暂释前嫌,重新划分了在河中地区(阿姆河、锡尔河之间)的势力范围。在会上,窝阔台汗国和钦察汗国对察合台汗国做了一定程度的让步。据《史集》记载,他们达成了这样的决议:重新划分夏营地和冬营地,“河中地区三分之二归八剌所有,三分之一则归海都和忙哥帖木儿管辖。”同时,会议决定,“由八剌明春渡过阿姆河带领军队进攻伊朗,夺取阿八哈汗的某些领土,以扩大八剌军队的牧场、土地和畜群。”实际上,这次会议的结果对八剌很有利。为了巩固这种有利局面,八剌提出举行盟誓。他说:“如果你们真心赞同所议的话,咱们立下誓约吧。”于是,这三个在中亚最有权势的蒙古汗王按照蒙古的习惯和仪式“嚼金起誓”(俄译本原文如此,下划线为笔者所加),并约定:“以后将迁到山地和草原上,不再在城市周围游荡,不再将牲畜赶到庄稼地里,也不再对刺亦牙惕(农民)提出不合理的征索。”做出这样的决议后,这些汗王才各自返回自己的营地^[3]。

按,上引《史集》汉译文转译自《史集》俄译本。由前苏联伊朗学家罗马斯凯维奇(A. A. Ромаскевич)主持校订、翻译的《史集》俄译本第三卷(Сборник летописей, Т. III)把上述关于盟誓的波斯文转写为 Z(a)R XWRD(a)ND,并做了如下注释:“吃金子,意即嚼金起誓”^[4]。在《史集》中还有另外一段文字提到此事,俄译本也同样翻译为“嚼金立誓”^[5]。

瑞典蒙古学家多桑(D' Ohson)在他撰写的《蒙古史》中引用了《史集》的这段记载,但翻译为饮金起誓,即:蒙古诸王“互誓遵守此约,并依国俗以金属置酒中共饮以证此誓。”多桑在这句话后面加了注释:“是即蒙古人所谓‘饮金’或‘饮金酒’。”^[6]

前苏联学者与多桑的两种译法究竟孰对孰错呢?

单从波斯文的字面含义来看,两种译法都有根据。Z(a)R 即波斯文 زر,意为“金”;XWRD(a)ND 即波斯文 خوردن的第三人称复数的过去式 خوردند。这个词既有“吃”的意思,又有“喝”的含义^[7]。单从这个词来看,我们无法判断哪种翻译正确^[8]。但是,如果我们同时考虑到蒙古的立誓习俗,那么这段波斯文显然应当采用多桑的翻译,即“饮金”^[9]。

二

以上两个饮金结盟的例子都发生在国与国之间或两派重大政治势力之间。实际上,这种立誓方式也出现于普通人之间或日常生活中,而它本身被赋予的神圣性没有丝毫改变。下面我们看几个时间稍晚的例子。

忽必烈时,云南都元帅宝合丁毒死忽必烈之子云南王忽哥赤,王府文学张立道为了反击

宝合丁,暗中组织力量。在当时的险恶形势下,自己的同谋必须非常可靠。为了保证彼此的忠诚,张立道等人饮金屑立誓。《元史》卷167《张立道传》记载:

[张立道]潜结义士得十三人,约共讨贼,刺臂血和金屑饮之,推一人走京师告变。事颇露,宝合丁乃囚立道,将杀之。人匠提举张忠者,燕人也,于立道为族兄,结壮士夜劫诸狱,出之,共亡至土蕃界,遇帝所遣御史大夫博罗欢、王傅别帖与告变人俱来。二人者遂与立道俱还,按宝合丁及王府官尝受赂者,皆伏诛。^[10]

实际上,张立道等人这种“刺臂血和金屑饮之”的方式要比饮金屑酒更为郑重,凸现出当时极为严峻的形势。

在一般情形下,饮金立誓都采用饮酒的方式。例如汉官之子许宸与蒙古贵族结为兄弟,就是饮金酒为盟。《元史》卷168《许宸传》的相关记载如下:

宸字君黼,一名忽鲁火孙,从其父国祯事世祖潜邸,进退庄重,世祖喜之,赐今名。俾从许衡学,人备宿卫,忠慎小心。尝因事忤旨,欲罪之,帝后悔,谓近侍帖哥曰:“朕欲罪忽鲁火孙,汝何不言?汝二人自今结为兄弟,有所谴责,则更相进谏。”乃置金酒中,赐二人饮,以为盟。时裕宗居东宫,帝又谕忽鲁火孙曰:“若太子罪汝,将谁谏耶?”遂命东宫臣庆山奴亦同饮金酒。^[11]

许宸的例子说明,根据蒙古的习俗,要结成兄弟,必须经过一定的仪式。饮金酒就是其中的一种。仪式过后,双方的关系便大不同于以前了。

三

上述事例都发生在蒙古民族形成和初步发展的时期,也就是13—14世纪。此后,饮金为誓的习俗仍保留在蒙古人中,同样用于重大的盟誓场合。

明洪武年间,居住在内地的蒙古人保持着饮金为誓的习俗。《明太祖实录》卷256“洪武三十一年[1398]春正月乙卯”条记载:

湖广茶陵卫广安千户所鞑军脱火赤等诣阙,言千户蔡青怨朝廷削其禄俸,椎牛置酒,宴集鞑靥总旗阉阁不花等,相与饮金屑酒,设誓言,期旦夕为乱。上谓兵部臣曰:“乱,不靖则起。取乱何如靖乱。朕无负彼,彼将何为?今以茶陵卫鞑靥官军分隶长沙、宝庆、衡州诸卫,与旧军参伍错居,彼虽欲为乱不可得也。”乃赏脱火赤银二十两,钞二十锭遣还。^[12]

文中那些图谋作乱的蒙古军人当时已在南方定居,饮金为誓的习俗却保留了下来。

在北方草原地区,饮金为誓的盟誓方式也在继续使用。永乐三年(1405),明朝与东北的兀良哈蒙古、兀狄哈女真等部确立盟约,采用的就是这种方式。据《李朝太宗实录》:

[太宗乙酉五年春正月]庚子,朝廷使臣千户高时罗等,奉圣旨到吾都里地面,吉州安抚使报云:使臣高时罗等欲开读圣旨,吾都里万户童猛哥帖木儿不迎命曰:“汎称吾都里卫,不录万户之名,何以迎命?”使臣等诘之曰:“由朝鲜来使臣二人于吾音会,彼北阿伊儿、朱乙臣、何大等处,会道伊兀良哈三卫、好罗乎兀狄哈二卫、沙河饮兀狄哈一卫、建州卫等处七卫待之。又,皇帝遣都司率兵众赍烧酒百瓶及朝鲜马三十匹来与七卫磨金同盟,赐马三十匹于於虚出参政。今尔万户不顺,可乎?”猛哥帖木儿见使臣,不为礼。^[13]

文中的道伊兀良哈三卫应是明代东蒙古著名的朵颜三卫,分别为朵颜卫、泰宁卫、福余卫。兀狄哈为女真语,意为“林中人”,“野人”,此处泛指分布在东北边远地区的一部分女真部落。在与明朝会盟的上述七卫中,以蒙古朵颜三卫力量最强。所以盟誓采用了蒙古传统的磨金为誓的方式。

另外,《明史》卷147《黄淮传》记载了类似的事例。永乐初期,蒙古鞑靼部的首领阿鲁台归附明朝,“请得役属吐蕃诸部。求朝廷刻金作誓词,磨其金酒中,饮诸酋长以盟。”当时的朝臣都认为应允许阿鲁台这样做。可大臣黄淮认为:“彼势分则易制,一则难图矣。”永乐皇帝完全同意黄淮的意见,他对此评论说:“黄淮论事,如立高冈,无远不见。”^[14]《明英宗实录》和明人陈建撰《皇明从信录》也记载了这件事,但较《明史》简略。据《皇明从信录》,此事发生在永乐九年(1411)^[15]。从明朝君臣对阿鲁台盟誓的防范,我们可以看出,饮金酒立誓言对于联合诸部达成共识并采取一致行动有着重要意义。

四

迟至17世纪,在一些蒙古部族中仍保留着饮金为誓的习俗。

1634年,沙皇派出以图哈切夫斯基为首的使团到蒙古外喀尔喀封建王公阿勒坦汗(Altin Khan)处,敦促阿勒坦汗宣誓效忠俄国。阿勒坦汗拒绝亲自宣誓,他提议让本部的贵族代表他和部落向喇嘛磕头,并向俄国使者宣誓。但俄国使者拒绝了这项建议。他们坚持要蒙古贵族用他们最隆重的方式起誓,那就是喝金酒。蒙古贵族要求俄国使者也和他们一样,同饮金粉酒。否则,他们就会中魔。俄国的使者做了让步,同意尝尝金酒。最后的宣誓仪式在1635年举行,具体情况如下:

俄国使者按照规定的程式向塔本们(按,塔本为蒙古语,意为大臣)宣读誓词,四位蒙古塔本代表阿勒坦汗本人、他的三个兄弟、子孙及其整个部落,严格按照书面格式,跟着俄国使臣逐句复述:阿勒坦汗、他的兄弟、子孙及其整个部落愿意接受沙皇的崇高统治,永远成为沙皇的忠实奴仆。接着四位塔本便喝起金酒。俄国的使者以敬酒为掩饰,没有喝酒^[16]。

据俄国使臣观察,这种金酒是把金子研成粉末后,调到酒里一起喝。图哈切夫斯基的秘书德鲁日纳记录了金酒的制作方法:蒙古贵族“开始逐句地复述誓词,一边研磨着金子,准备宣誓。当金子研成粉末后,便拌入酒中”^[17]。

1635年,沙皇再次派出使者到阿勒坦汗处,此行的任务是敦促阿勒坦汗本人宣誓效忠俄国。但阿勒坦汗又拒绝了俄国的要求,同时将上次宣誓誓词中的“奴仆”改为“臣属”。双方讨论出一个折中方案:由部落中尊贵的达音墨尔根喇嘛和都喇勒塔本代表汗宣誓,誓词为:“阿勒坦汗、他的家族及全体部落保证永远成为沙皇米哈伊尔·费奥多罗维奇陛下和两个皇子阿列克谢·米哈伊洛维奇、伊凡·米哈伊洛维奇的臣属。”为了保证此誓,宣誓者又饮了金酒^[18]。

类似的事情还发生在1650年。当时蒙古捷连古特部(Telengut)王公科喀(Koka)向俄国作归顺宣誓,他一边饮着金酒,一边说道:“如果我说这番话心口不一,就请上帝把他的怒剑加到我身上,使我今生和来世都不得好报;也可叫这金子刺入我的喉咙,毁烂我的脏腑;同时可请大君主、沙皇阿列克谢·米哈伊洛维奇大公将他的宝剑架到我的脖子上!”^[19]捷连古特部属于卡尔梅克蒙古,又被称作“白喀尔木克人”^[20]。由科喀宣誓可以看出,西蒙古的一些部族也有饮金为誓的习俗。

到近代,饮金酒立誓言的做法在蒙古人中似乎消失。天主教圣母圣心会教士司律司(Henry Serruys)注意到,鄂尔多斯蒙古男子在结拜兄弟时会饮一种浸泡着硬币的酒。司律司认为,这可能是蒙古饮金习俗的遗存^[21]。

目前,我们可以在市场上买到一种特殊的金酒——添加了食用金箔的酒。笔者见到的是中国青海青稞酒厂(青海互助县威远镇)制造的42度青稞金酒。它以青稞酒为基酒,配以细碎的片状食用金箔。据产品介绍,放入金箔是为了起到“慎心肝,安魂魄,坚骨髓”的药用效果^[22]。换言之,金箔只是一种经过科学加工处理后的食品添加剂。饮用这种金酒与盟誓已经毫无关系了^[23]。

五

众所周知,由于黄金的比重很大(比重为19.7),人如果吞咽黄金达到一定重量,黄金便会在消化器官内下坠,洞穿肠胃,导致人失血死亡。古人自杀的一种重要方式就是吞金或把金屑放在酒中饮用。在中国古代,这样的例子很多。下表是部分吞饮金屑夺人性命的事例:

时代	事件与方式	资料来源 ^[24]
曹魏	帝不听,竟遣使资金屑饮[公孙]晃及其妻子,赐以棺、衣,殡斂于宅。	《三国志》卷24《魏书·高柔传》,687页
西晋	伦[赵王伦]乃矫诏遣尚书刘弘等持节资金屑酒赐后[贾南风]死。	《晋书》卷31《惠贾皇后传》,965页
西晋	[晋帝]遣尚书袁敞持节赐伦[赵王伦]死,饮以金屑苦酒。	《晋书》卷59《赵王伦传》,1604页
明末	大清兵破城,[刘中藻]冠带坐堂上,为文自祭,吞金屑死。	《明史》卷276《刘中藻传》,7082页
明末	鲁王次长垣,召为兵部右侍郎,与员外郎林盗攻福宁,战败被执,谕降不从,系之,吞金屑而死。	《明史》卷277《林汝霖传》,7107页

既然金屑对身体有害,那么为什么蒙古有饮金屑酒这样一种非常庄重的立誓习俗呢?很显然,蒙古人饮金屑酒立誓不是为了自杀。

我们可以从金屑的物理属性和象征意义两个方面解释这一现象。首先,黄金具有极强的物理稳定性,很难发生氧化反应,在极端恶劣的环境下不会改变灿烂的外观,即所谓“真金不怕火炼”。正是在这个意义上,人们才会用金子来赞誉守信用、重承诺、不变心等美德。由于黄金具有特殊的象征意义,蒙古贵族乐于把金屑酒用于盟誓的重大场合,通过黄金稳固不变的属性,来表示立誓双方对于誓言、盟约的坚守。可以想象,金酒中只是放上少许金粉、金屑而已,不足以对立誓人造成伤害。

其次,吞金可以致人死命,这也是蒙古人选择饮金为誓的重要原因。誓言之所以会对发誓者产生约束力,就在于违背誓言会得到相应的惩罚。我们注意到,伴随发誓通常会有各种具有潜在伤害特征的仪式。比如屠宰牲畜、折断箭杆、砍断树木等等。实际上,这些仪式都是对誓言中提到的有关惩罚的模拟和预演。它提醒仪式的参加者,如果不遵守誓言,未来的下场就是这样。上引1650年捷连古特王公科喀向俄国所做的归顺宣誓就充分体现了这一点,他的誓词是:“如果我说这番话心口不一,就请上帝把他的怒剑加到我身上,使我今生和来世都不得好报;也可叫这金子刺入我的喉咙,毁烂我的脏腑;同时可请大君主、沙皇阿列克谢·米哈伊洛维奇大公将他的宝剑架到我的脖子上!”^[25]这些誓词表明,饮金酒意味着饮酒者在背叛誓言后将受到严厉的惩罚。

饮金屑酒是一种比较独特的社会盟誓习俗,它体现了蒙古社会非常重视通过富有象征意义的仪式来约束人的行为。应当说,这是一种极具想象力的创举^[26]。

注 释

[1]已有一些学者提及蒙古的饮金为誓习俗,参看 Henry Serruys, “A Note on Arrows and Oaths among

- the Mongols", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 78 (1958), no. 4, pp. 291—292; 周良霄:《蒙古选汗仪制与元朝皇位继承问题》,《元史论丛》第三辑,中华书局,1986年,第40页;陈高华:《[元代]结义习俗》,收入陈高华、史卫民《中国风俗通史·元代卷》,上海文艺出版社,2001年,第492页。以上学者都敏锐地注意到蒙古的饮金习俗,惜未展开讨论。
- [2] 参看《元史》卷1《太祖纪》;《蒙古秘史》第249节;〔波斯〕拉施特主编《史集》第一卷第二分册,余大钧、周建奇据《史集》俄译本汉译,商务印书馆,1983年,第213页。
- [3] 《史集》第三卷,“阿八哈汗”,余大钧据《史集》俄译本汉译,商务印书馆1986年版,第111页。
- [4] 上引《史集》第三卷,第111页,注释2。
- [5] 上引《史集》第三卷,第133页。
- [6] 多桑:《蒙古史》(*Histoire des Mongols*),第5卷第1章,冯承钧汉译本《多桑蒙古史》,上海书店出版社2001年版,第153—154页。
- [7] 参看 John Mace, *Modern Persian*, Kent: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, 1962, pp. 44—45, 244—245.
- [8] 以色列学者 Michal Biran 就认为各位蒙古汗王不可能食用黄金,因此,他们盟誓只是使用了黄金酒杯。见 Michal Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia*, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1997, p. 26.
- [9] 海都与八剌的和解得益于窝阔台系宗王钦察的斡旋。对此,多桑写道:“海都见八剌合之欲摧残河中使之不能防卫,颇不自安,故遣乞卜察克来谋和解。乞卜察克者,窝阔台之孙也,与八剌合交素厚,自愿担任调解。八剌合见其至,厚待之,起立手引之坐于其侧,互饮金血酒,互易衣服,而互称曰安答。”见上引《多桑蒙古史》,第153页。文中的八剌合即八剌,乞卜察克即钦察。这段文字中八剌与钦察互饮金血酒的记载不见于《史集》。多桑的著作除了《史集》外多依据《瓦萨夫史》。相关纪事或出自该书,待考。
- [10] 《元史》,中华书局校点本,1976年,第3916页。
- [11] 上引《元史》,第3964页。
- [12] 《明太祖实录》,台湾中央研究院历史语言研究所校印本,第5册,第3695页。
- [13] 吴晗辑《〈朝鲜李朝实录〉中的中国史料》,中华书局,1980年,第1册,第205页。这段文字也收入日本学者池内宏编《明代满蒙史料·〈李朝实录〉抄》,(台北)文海出版社,1975年影印本,第1册,第157—158页。关于这次会盟的历史背景,参看王冬芳《建州左卫初建过程考实》,《清史论丛》2005年号。
- [14] 《明史》,中华书局校点本,1974年,第4124页。
- [15] 《明英宗实录》卷179“正统十四年六月辛亥”条附黄淮传,台湾中央研究院历史语言研究所校印本,第17册,第3454—3455页;《皇明从信录》卷14“永乐九年”(辛卯),《续修四库全书》本,第355册,第230页。
- [16] 图哈切夫斯基的《出使报告》,收入〔英〕约·弗·巴德利(John F. Baddeley):《俄国·蒙古·中国》(*Russia, Mongolia, China*),吴持哲、吴有刚汉译本,商务印书馆,1981年,下卷,第一册,第1085—1090页。

- [17] 图哈切夫斯基秘书德鲁日纳的出使报告,收入上引巴德利《俄国·蒙古·中国》下卷,第一册,第1093页。
- [18] 俄国使者格列恰宁的出使报告,收入上引巴德利《俄国·蒙古·中国》下卷,第一册,第1100页。
- [19] [俄]菲舍尔(J. E. Fischer):《西伯利亚史》(*Sibirische Geschichte*),第2卷,第637页。转引自巴德利《俄国·蒙古·中国》下卷,第一册,第1090页,注释2。
- [20] 上引《俄国·蒙古·中国》汉译本,下卷,第一册,第976—978页。
- [21] 前引 Henry Serruys, "A Note on Arrows and Oaths among the Mongols", p. 292.
- [22] 青稞金酒的产品介绍引《本草纲目》、《中国医药大辞典》来说明金箔的药用价值。关于黄金的医疗保健作用,亦可参看李焕编《矿物药浅说》,山东科学技术出版社,1981年,第311—313页。
- [23] 笔者感谢北京大学东方语言文学系蒙古语教研室陈岗龙先生的帮助。陈先生向笔者提供了这种金酒。据他介绍,现在的蒙古国也生产金酒。不过,人们只把它当作送礼的高档酒,并不用于立誓、结盟等场合。
- [24] 表中所引史籍均用中华书局校点本的初刊本,不再一一注明出版年代。
- [25] 上引[俄]菲舍尔《西伯利亚史》第2卷,第637页。转引自巴德利《俄国·蒙古·中国》下卷,第一册,第1090页,注释2。
- [26] 必须指出的是,所有社会规范都具有局限性。尽管誓言可以在相当程度上约束立誓人的行为,但它决不是万能的。仅就蒙古而言,饮金立誓并不能完全阻止背叛行为的发生。如海都与八剌在塔剌思盟誓之后,关系虽一度好转,但不久就产生了新的矛盾。八剌首先违背了誓言,然后海都大举兴兵报复。两位汗王的矛盾最后以八剌的突然死亡而告终。参看上引《史集》第三卷,第133—136页。因此,我们对于盟誓的社会功能必须结合当时的历史环境,进行全面分析。

[本文系教育部人文社会科学重点研究基地北京大学古代史研究中心“中古国家体制与北亚民族传统互动研究”课题成果之一]

关于法显的人竺求法路线

——兼说智猛和昙无竭的人竺行

余太山

法显人竺路线见载于《法显传》。本文除在前人研究的基础之上⁽¹⁾,就若干争议较多的问题陈述己见外,还试图结合有关记载,特别是有关智猛和昙无竭人竺路线的记载进行比较研究,使法显的人竺行程更趋清晰,同时推测公元五世纪中印交通路线之一般。

发迹长安至度葱岭。

1 “初发迹长安,度陇,至乾归国夏坐”。长安,今陕西西安西北,时为后秦姚兴都城。陇,指陇山,在今陕西陇县西北、甘肃清水县东北,为自陇水流域通往西北的陆路所必由。乾归国,指西秦乞伏乾归当时所都金城,今甘肃兰州西。一说法显所经为苑川⁽²⁾;未安。

案:《资治通鉴·晋纪二九》(卷一〇七)孝武帝太元十三年(388年):“九月,河南王乾归迁都金城”。《资治通鉴·晋纪三〇》(卷一〇八)又载太元二十年(395年)六月:“西秦王乾归迁于西城”。胡注:“苑川西城也”。嗣后,据“晋纪三一”,后凉吕光于隆安元年(397年)遣吕纂等率步骑三万“拔金城”。而秃发乌孤称西平王后,“治兵广武,攻凉金城,克之”。又据《资治通鉴·晋纪三三》(卷一一一),隆安三年(399年)十月“西秦以金城太守辛静为右丞相”,知前此西秦已复得金城⁽³⁾。至安帝隆安四年正月,据同卷,“西秦王乾归迁都苑川”。胡注:“乞伏氏本居苑川,乾归迁于金城,今复都苑川”。法显“至乾归国”既在隆安三年,则所至当为金城。

2 “夏坐訖,前行至耨檀国”。耨檀国,指南凉都城西平,今青海西宁西。耨檀,即秃发傉檀,南凉王(402—414年在位)。

案:南凉秃发乌孤死于隆安三年(399年),其弟利鹿孤继位,迁都西平。利鹿孤死于元兴元年(402年),弟耨檀继位。据《晋书·秃发傉檀载记》,“傉檀少机警,有才略。……及利鹿孤即位,垂拱而已,军国大事,皆以委之。以元兴元年僭号凉王,遣于乐都,改元曰弘昌”。

法显抵南凉时,利鹿孤尚在位,仍治西平。或因僭檀柁国之政,法显径称南凉为“耨檀国”。一说法显所经“耨檀国”为乐都^[4],似未安。

3 “度养楼山,至张掖镇。……复进到敦煌。……敦煌太守李暠供给度沙河”。养楼山,应即《水经注·河水二》所见“养女山”^[5],山在今青海西宁市以北、大通河南一带,正在西平至张掖道上。

张掖镇,今甘肃张掖西北。敦煌,今甘肃敦煌西。沙河,指敦煌至鄯善国之间的沙漠地带,即《汉书·西域传》所谓“白龙堆”。

4 “行十七日,计可千五百里,得至鄯善国”。鄯善国,此处指鄯善国王治扞泥城,今罗布泊西南若羌县治附近之且尔乞都克古城。一说法显所经鄯善国在罗布泊西北今楼兰古城遗址^[6]。案:其说未安。

一则,历史上鄯善国王治始终在罗布泊西南,既然法显所经各“国”均为其王治,鄯善国不应例外。《汉书·冯奉世传》明载“奉世送大宛诸国客至伊脩城”。伊脩城,即《汉书·西域传上》所见伊循城,位于今Miran附近。这说明自阳关有道可通罗布泊西南^[7]。

二则,《法显传》称,自敦煌至鄯善“可千五百里”。而据《汉书·西域传》,自扞泥城至阳关为1,600里。汉晋时代不同,法显所计不过约数,百里左右的误差是可以理解的。《汉书·西域传》的1,600里是自阳关沿阿尔金山北麓赴扞泥城的行程,可知法显赴扞泥城不是先抵楼兰城再南下的^[8]。

三则,法显西行时,罗布泊西北的楼兰城已经废弃或接近废弃^[9]。而法显所至鄯善国“有四千余僧”,可知其地不可能是楼兰城,只能是泊西南的扞泥城。说者以为这“有四千余僧”指楼兰至尼雅整个鄯善国统治区的僧侣数。然而法显并未去过尼雅,未必能统计鄯善国全国的僧侣数。“其国王奉法,可有四千余僧,悉小乘学”,无疑是鄯善国王治一处的情况。说者强调四千余僧不在王治一地,不过说明他并不相信楼兰城有如此大的“奉法”规模。

又,法显之所以没有自扞泥城取西域南道人竺,而从该处折向焉耆,可能出于行资的考虑。

5 “复西北行十五日,到焉夷国”。“焉夷”应即“焉耆”,该国王治可能在今四十里城子附近的博格达沁古城。

案:据《汉书·西域传下》,山国“西北至焉耆百六十里,……东南与鄯善[接]”。法显自鄯善赴焉耆当自经由原山国王治所在(今Kizil-sangir或Singer)往赴。

6 “为焉夷国人不修礼义,遇客甚薄,智严、慧简、慧鬼遂返向高昌,欲求行资”。高昌,在今新疆吐鲁番东约50公里之胜金口之南。焉耆东北行有道可通高昌^[10]。

7 “法显等蒙苻公孙供给,遂得直进。西南行,路中无居民,沙行艰难,所经之苦,人理莫比。在道一月五日,得到于阗”。于阗,在今和阗附近。所谓“沙行”乃指自焉夷西南向穿越

塔克拉玛干沙漠直达于阗^[11]。

8 “慧景、道整、慧达先发，向竭叉国。法显等欲观行像，停三月日”。案：慧景等先发所至竭叉国，应即《汉书·西域传》所见蒲犁国，今塔什库尔干西南^[12]。

9 “既过四月行像，僧韶一人，随胡道人，向罽宾”。案：僧韶所至罽宾，一般认为指 Kāśmīra；但很可能是指乾陀罗，即法显所记键陀卫国，详本文第四节。

10 “法显等进向子合国，在道二十五日，便到其国”。子合国，首见《汉书·西域传》，其位置似应求诸叶城(Karghalik)之西 Asgan-sal 河谷，更确切地说应在叶尔羌河与 Asgan-sal 河汇合地点以上 Kosrāb 附近的河谷^[13]。法显自于阗西赴子合历时二十五日。按之《汉书·西域传》，子合国王治呼犍谷“东与皮山[接]”，而于阗国“西通皮山三百八十里”。因此，法显一行很可能是取道皮山前往子合的。

11 “住此十五日已，于是南行四日，入葱岭山，到于麾国安居”。葱岭山，指帕米尔高原。于麾国，一说即《魏书·西域传》所见“权于摩国”^[14]。

案：“于麾”[hiua-xiua]果即“权于摩”，则应即《汉书·西域传》所见乌秣国。盖据《魏书·西域传》，“权于摩国，故乌秣国也。其王居乌秣城，在悉居半西南，去代一万二千九百七十里”。《魏书·西域传》所见权于摩国果即《汉书·西域传》所见乌秣国，则其名衍“权”字^[15]，“于摩”乃“乌秣”之讹。盖“乌”、“于”音同，而“秣”讹为“耗”^[16]，复讹为“摩”。

但是，指法显所历“于麾”为乌秣不无障碍。盖法显一行抵于麾后，复“行二十五日，到竭叉国”，遂于竭叉国入竺。如前所述，竭叉国位于 Tāshkurghān。而据《汉书·西域传》，子合国王治呼犍谷“东与皮山、西南与乌秣、北与莎车、西与蒲犁接”。蒲犁一般认为位于今 Tāshkurghān，法显欲赴蒲犁，可自于阗经皮山、子合西行，并无西南行抵乌秣之必要。

《汉书·西域传》又载：“皮山国，王治皮山城……西南至乌秣国千三百四十里，南与天竺接，北至姑墨千四百五十里，西南当罽宾、乌弋山离道”。于麾果即乌秣，法显入竺应自于麾西南行、取“罽宾、乌弋山离道”前往，不必西北行赴竭叉。盖所谓“罽宾、乌弋山离道”乃由于阗经皮山、乌秣入竺。

根据较可信的说法，乌秣城故址可能在今 Hunza^[17]。如果相信于麾即 Hunza，则不能认为竭叉在 Tāshkurghān。反之，若认为竭叉位于 Tāshkurghān，则于麾不可能是权于摩或乌秣。法显既取道子合前赴竭叉，则于麾不应是乌秣。

当然，另一种可能性也不能排除：法显到达子合后，没有直接西赴竭叉（蒲犁或渴盘陀），却西南行抵于麾（乌秣或权于摩），是因某种原因在子合不适合“安居”，不得不赴于麾“安居”。“安居已止”，没有自于麾直接入竺，复自于麾西北行赴竭叉，则是为了与慧景等会合的缘故。

又，据《汉书·西域传》，子合“东与皮山”接。因此，法显自于阗至子合应该路过皮山。

《法显传》不载皮山,应该是在该处无法事可记的缘故。

12 “安居已止,行二十五日,到竭叉国,与慧景等合”。竭叉国,已见前文。

13 “从此西行向北天竺。在道一月,得度葱岭。葱岭冬夏有雪。又有毒龙,若失其意,则吐毒风,雨雪,飞沙砾石,遇此难者,万无一全”。北天竺,指印度半岛北部。“葱岭”,此处指喀喇昆仑山。“又有毒龙”云云,知法显曾经历后来宋云所记“不可依山”。《洛阳伽蓝记》卷五“宋云行记”所载:宋云一行于“八月初入汉盘陀国界。西行六日,登葱岭山。复西行三日,至钵盂城。三日至不可依山。其处甚寒,冬夏积雪。山中有池,毒龙居之”,可以为证。

二

北天竺、西天竺之行。

14 “度岭已,到北天竺,始入其境,有一小国名陀历”。陀历(Darāḍa),一般认为在今 Darel,位于克什米尔西北部印度河北岸。

15 “于此顺岭西南行十五日。其道艰阻,崖岸峻绝,其山唯石,壁立千仞,临之目眩,欲进则投足无所。下有水,名新头河。昔人有凿石通路施傍梯者,凡度七百,度梯已,蹶悬绝过河。河两岸相去减八十步。九译所绝,汉之张骞、甘英皆不至”。“新头河”指印度河。“过河”以及下文“度河”,指渡印度河北岸该河之支流。

案:按照法显所记,似乎这一段“九译所绝”的险途始自陀历,其实不然。盖据《汉书·西域传》,“乌秣国,王治乌秣城,……北与子合、蒲犁,西与难兜接。……其西则有县度,去阳关五千八百八十八里,去都护治所五千二十里。县度者,石山也,溪谷不通,以绳索相引而度云”。既然乌秣国在今 Hunza,难兜在今 Gilgit^[18],”县度”之险应在法显入竺途中。又据《洛阳伽蓝记》卷五引“宋云行记”,“从钵卢勒国向乌场国,铁锁为桥,悬虚而度,下不见底,旁无挽捉,倏忽之间,投躯万仞,是以行者望风谢路耳”。钵卢勒,应即《魏书·西域传》所见波路(Bolor),在今 Gilgit 附近。则此险途始自 Gilgit,直至乌场。“乌场”即法显所记“乌茺”。

又据《大唐西域记》卷三,自乌仗那国都城(槽揭厘城(Mangalaor)东北,逾山越谷。逆上信度河。途路危险,山谷杳冥。或覆绳索,或牵铁锁。栈道虚临,飞梁危构。椽杙蹶蹶,行千余里,至达丽罗川”,达丽罗川既即陀历,则上述险途复自 Darel 延至 Mangalaor(乌仗那国旧都所在)。玄奘盖自乌仗那(乌茺)北上,与法显方向相反。

16 “度河便到乌茺国。乌茺国是正北天竺(Uttarāpatha)也。尽作中天竺语,中天竺(Madhyadesa)所谓中国”。乌茺国(Uddiyāna),位于今巴基斯坦北部 Swat 河流域。北天竺、中天竺,即北印度、中印度。古代印度人将印度一分为五:称“五印度”或“五天竺”。

案:法显称“乌茺国是正北天竺也”。是说“天竺”的领域始自乌茺。《洛阳伽蓝记》卷五

“宋云行记”称乌场国“北接葱岭,南连天竺”,也是说乌场是天竺的门户。

又,据法显,“佛遗足迹”在乌苾国;而据《大唐西域记》卷三,乌仗那国治憍揭厘城(今 Mingōla),憍揭厘城东北二百五十里处有阿波逻罗龙泉,阿波逻罗龙泉西南三十里、“水北岸大盘石上有如来足所履迹”。一般认为,如来足迹遗址在 Swat 河上游西岸 Tirāt 村。

17 “慧景、道整、慧达三人先发,向佛影那竭国。法显等住此国夏坐”。那竭国,即 Nagarahūra,位于今阿富汗东部 Jalalabad 附近。国名前冠以“佛影”两字,是因为该国“供养佛影”的缘故。

案:慧景等自乌苾向那竭国,与此后法显的行程可能差相仿佛。

18 “坐讫,南下,到宿呵多国”。“宿呵多”,即 Swat 之汉译,今 Mangalaor 西南跨 Swat 河两岸之地称为 Swat。

案:据法显,宿呵多国系释迦牟尼“割肉贸鸽处”;而据《大唐西域记》卷三,“憍揭厘城南二百余里大山侧,至摩诃伐那(mahāvana)伽蓝。……摩诃伐那伽蓝西北,下山三四十里,至摩愉(mayū)伽蓝。……摩愉伽蓝西六七十里,至罕堵波,无忧王(Asoka)之所建也。是如来昔修菩萨行,号尸毗迦王(Śibika)为求佛果,于此割身,从鹰代鸽”。按大致比例,摩诃伐那伽蓝、摩愉伽蓝和如来“割肉贸鸽处”均在法显所历宿呵多国,故宿呵多国可能尚在今 Swat 地区之南,即今 Buner 地区^[19]。

19 “从此东下五日行,到健陀卫国”。健陀卫国(Gandhavat),即乾陀罗,位于今喀布尔河中下游。

案:据法显,健陀卫国有佛“以眼施人”处。据《洛阳伽蓝记》卷五“宋云行记”,“如来挑眼施人处”在乾陀罗国佛沙伏城(Varṣapura)西一日行处。佛沙伏城,应即《大唐西域记》卷二所见健驮逻国跋虏沙城,今白沙瓦(Peshāwar)东北之 Shahbaz Garhi。

然据《大唐西域记》卷二,健驮逻国布色羯逻伐底城(Puṣkalāvātī)北四五里有故伽蓝,“伽蓝侧有罕堵波高数百尺。无忧王之所建也,雕木文石,颇异人工。是释迦佛昔为国王,修菩萨行,从众生欲,惠施不倦,丧身若遗,于此国土千生为王,即斯胜地千生舍眼”。布色羯逻伐底城,在今白沙瓦东北之 Chārsadda。这就是说,跋虏沙西一日行处便是布色羯逻伐底城北故伽蓝。

因此,法显所谓“健陀卫国,是阿育王(Asoka)子法益(Dharma-vivardhana)所治处,佛为菩萨时,亦于此国以眼施人”云云,表明法显当时所历其实是宋云所历佛沙伏城,亦即玄奘所经跋虏沙城。

20 “自此东行七日,有国名竺刹尸罗”。竺刹尸罗国(Takṣaśilā),今巴基斯坦拉瓦尔品第(Rawalpindi)西北 Shahanderi 东南的 Sirkap 遗址。

据法显,“佛为菩萨时,于此处以头施人”。案:竺刹尸罗即《大唐西域记》卷三所载呾叉始罗,国都北十二三里有“舍头窣堵波”,遗址在今 Taxila 北。法显赴竺刹尸罗,显然是为了访问“舍头窣堵波”。

21 “从健陀卫国南行四日,到弗楼沙国。……佛钵即在此国。……由是法显独进,向佛顶骨所”。弗楼沙国,应即《魏书·西域传》所见富楼沙(Puraṣapura)、《洛阳伽蓝记》卷五“宋云行记”所见“乾陀罗城”、《大唐西域记》卷二所见健驮逻国布路沙布逻城(Puraṣapura),位于今白沙瓦(Peshāwar)。

案:既称“从健陀卫国南行四日”到弗楼沙国,则似乎表明法显是在到达竺刹尸罗后又西归佛伏沙,复自健陀卫国南赴弗楼沙国的。

22 “西行十六由延,便至那竭国界酰罗城,中有佛顶骨精舍”。那竭国界酰罗城,故址在今 Jalalabad 城南之 Hidḍa 村。“酰罗”(hiḍḍa 或 heḍḍa),即梵文 haḍḍa(骨)。

案:法显所载酰罗城,应即《大唐西域记》卷二那揭罗曷国的酰罗城。据载,城中有“七宝小窣堵波,以贮如来髑髅骨”^[20]。

23 “从此北行一由延,到那竭国城。……住此冬三月,法显等三人南度小雪山”。那竭国城,已见前述。小雪山,即 Jalalabad 城南 Safed Kōh 山脉(今 Spin Ghar)。

案:据《慈恩传》卷二,玄奘自滥波国,经那揭罗曷国都城、佛顶骨城(酰罗城)、健陀罗国布路沙布逻、布色羯逻伐底城、跋虏沙^[21]、乌铎迦汉茶城(Udabhaṇḍapura)、至乌仗那国都城槽揭厘城,更溯印度河而上,抵乌仗那旧都达丽川。法显则自陀历渡河至乌苾国,复经宿呵多国(Buner)、健陀卫国(跋虏沙)、竺刹尸罗、弗楼沙国(布路沙布逻城),至酰罗城(佛顶骨城)。

另外,法显往返健陀卫与竺刹尸罗之间时应该由乌铎迦汉茶城。玄奘乃自乌仗那回归乌铎迦汉茶城,再往赴呾叉始罗。

24 “南到罗夷国。……住此夏坐”。罗夷国,指 Safed Kōh 山南 Lohās 人居地。一说在今 Parachinor^[22]。

25 “坐讫,南下,行十日,到跋那国”。跋那国,应即《大唐西域记》卷一一所载伐刺拏国,位于今巴基斯坦北部之 Bannu^[23]。

案:玄奘乃于归途,自呾叉始罗经由蓝波国境,至伐刺拏国。

26 “从此东行三日,复渡新头河,两岸皆平地。过河有国,名毗荼。……从此东南行减八十由延,经历诸寺甚多,僧众万数”。毗荼,即旁遮普(Pañcanada, Pañjāb),主要部份在今巴基斯坦东北部。

三

中天竺、东天竺之行。

27 “过是诸处已，到一国，国名摩头罗。有遥捕那河……从是以南，名为中国”。摩头罗，即 Mathurā，《大唐西域记》卷四作“秣兔罗”。都城故址在今印度北方邦西部马土腊西南之 Maholi。遥捕那河，即《大唐西域记》卷五所见阎牟那河，今 Mathurā 城东 Jumna 河。

28 “从此东南行十八由延，有国名僧伽施”。僧伽施 (Saṃkāśya)，《大唐西域记》卷四作“劫比他” (Kapitha)。都城故址在今印度北方邦西部 Farrukhābād 之 Sankisa 村。

案：据《慈恩传》卷二，玄奘自秣兔罗，经萨他泥湿伐罗国 (Sthāneśvara)、禄勒那国 [《大唐西域记》卷四作“宰禄勤那” (Srughna)]，渡阎牟那河，至秣底补罗国 (Matipura)，复经婆罗吸摩补罗国 (Brahmapura)、酰掣怛罗国 [《大唐西域记》卷四作“埜酰掣怛罗国” (Ahiechitra)]、毘罗那拏国 [《大唐西域记》卷四作“毘罗那拏国” (Virāsāna)]，至劫比他。自摩头罗 (秣兔罗) 至僧伽施 (劫比他)，法显是直接抵达，玄奘则在历经多处后抵达。

29 “法显住龙精舍夏坐。坐讫，东南行七由延，到罽𑖀夷城。城接恒水，有二僧伽蓝，尽小乘学”。罽𑖀夷城，即《大唐西域记》卷五所见羯若鞠闾国 (Kanyakubja)，今印度北方邦西部 Kanauj。恒水，《大唐西域记》所见殑伽河，今印度恒河 (Ganges)。

30 “度恒水，南行三由延，到一村，名呵梨”。呵梨，盖即《大唐西域记》卷五所见羯若鞠闾国大城东南、殑伽河东岸之纳缚提婆矩罗城 (Navadebakula)。Navadebakula 意为“新天寺”，或因奉毘瑟簸天 (Viṣṇu) 得名，而毘瑟簸名 Hari，或即“呵梨”一名之由来。

31 “从此东南行十由延，到沙祇大国”。沙祇大国，或即 Saketa，曾为古印度北部拘萨罗国 (Kosala) 都城。沙祇大国，可能就是《大唐西域记》卷五所见阿踰陀国 (Ayudhā)。

32 “从此北行八由延，到拘萨罗国舍卫城”。拘萨罗，印度古国，其都城 Śrāvastī (巴利文：Sāvattihī)。“舍卫”即 Sāvattihī 之对译。《大唐西域记》卷六作“室罗伐悉底” (Śrāvastī)。

33 “城西五十里，到一邑，名都维，是迦叶佛 (Kāśyapa) 本生处”。都维，今 Sāhet-Māhet 西之 Tadwa 村。

案：据《慈恩传》卷三，玄奘自劫比他至羯若鞠闾国后，经纳缚提婆矩罗城、阿踰陀国、阿耶穆佉国 (Ayamukha)、钵罗耶伽国 (Prayāga)、憍赏弥国 (Kausāmbī)、鞞索迦国 (Viṣāka)、至室罗伐悉底国。法显乃自僧伽施 (劫比他) 至罽𑖀夷城 (羯若鞠闾国曲女城) 后，经呵梨 (纳缚提婆矩罗城)、沙祇大国 (阿踰陀国)，至拘萨罗 (室罗伐悉底国)。

34 “从舍卫城东南行十二由延，到一邑，名那毗伽，是拘楼秦佛所生处”。那毗伽

(Nabhika?),具体地望不详。拘楼秦佛(Krakucchanda),即《大唐西域记》卷六所见迦罗迦村驮佛(Krakucchanda),其本生古城在劫比罗伐窣堵(Kapilavastu)国王城南五十余里。

35“从此北行,减一由延,到一邑,是拘那含牟尼佛所生处”。拘那含牟尼佛(Kanakamuni),即《大唐西域记》卷六所见迦诺迦牟尼佛(Kanakamunibuddha),据载该佛本生古城在劫比罗伐窣堵国王城东北三十余里处。

36“从此东行,减一由延,到迦维罗卫城。……城东五十里有王园,园名论民”。迦维罗卫,即《大唐西域记》卷六所见劫比罗伐窣堵国,王城遗址在今尼泊尔 Basti 县北部的 Piprāwā。“论民”,即《大唐西域记》卷六所见腊伐尼园(Lumbinivana)。

案:据《慈恩传》卷三,自室罗伐悉底国东南行八百余里,至劫比罗伐窣堵国。这一段行程法显与玄奘接近。

37“从佛生处东行五由延,有国名蓝莫”。蓝莫(Rāma),即《大唐西域记》卷六所见蓝摩,在尼泊尔南部之 Dharmauli。

案:据《慈恩传》卷三,自劫比罗伐窣堵国东行五百余里,至蓝摩国。这一段行程法显与玄奘接近。

38“复东行十二由延,到拘夷那竭城。城北双树间希连河边,世尊于此北首而般泥洹”。拘夷那竭城,《大唐西域记》卷六所见拘尸那揭罗国,故址在尼泊尔的 Little Rapti 河与 Gandak 河汇流处之南。

案:据《慈恩传》卷三,自蓝摩国行百余里,至拘尸那揭罗国。这一段行程法显与玄奘接近。

39“从此东南行十二由延,到诸梨车欲逐佛般泥洹处”。梨车(Licchavi),《大唐西域记》卷七作“栗帖婆子”。据载,诸梨车欲逐佛般泥洹处在吠舍厘国王城西北五六十里。

40“自此东行五由延,到毗舍离国”。毗舍离(Vaiśālī),《大唐西域记》卷七作“吠舍厘”。王城在近 Gandak 河左岸 Hājipur 以北的 Basārḥ。

案:据《慈恩传》卷三,玄奘自拘尸那揭罗国,经婆罗痾斯国(Bārāṇasī)、战主国(Garjanapati),至吠舍厘国。法显则自拘夷那竭城(拘尸那揭罗国)直接至毗舍离国(吠舍厘国)。

41“从此东行四由延,到五河合口”。五河合口,指自毗舍离城至摩竭提国巴连弗邑之恒河渡口。附近为 Gandak、Rāptī、Gogra、恒河、宋河(Son)诸水,汇成恒河下游而东行。故曰“五河合口”。

42“度河南下一由延,到摩竭提国巴连弗邑”。摩竭提国(Magadha),《大唐西域记》卷八作“摩揭陀”,位于印度河中游。巴连弗邑(Paṭaliputra),《大唐西域记》卷八作“波吒厘子城”,位于今印度比哈尔之 Patnā。

案:据《慈恩传》卷三,玄奘自吠舍厘国,经[湿]吠多补罗城(Śvetapura),至摩揭陀国波

吒厘子城。法显则自毗舍离城(吠舍厘国)至摩竭提国巴连弗邑(波吒厘子城)。法显与玄奘行程接近。

43 “从此东南行九由延,至一小孤石山”。小孤石山,一般认为即《大唐西域记》卷九所见因陀罗势罗婆诃山(*Indraśailaguhā*)。据载,因陀罗势罗婆诃山即王舍城东 *Giriyek* 山,然法显所记距离与玄奘并不一致。

44 “从此西南行一由延,到那罗聚落,是舍利弗本生村”。那罗聚落,《大唐西域记》卷九作“迦罗臂拏迦邑”(*Kālapināka*),在因陀罗势罗婆诃山西三十余里。

45 “从此西行一由延,到王舍新城”。王舍新城,《大唐西域记》卷九作曷罗闍姑利咽城(*Rājagṛha*);*Rājagṛha* 意指“王舍”。

案:据《慈恩传》卷三,玄奘自曷罗闍姑利咽城,至因陀罗势罗婆诃山。法显则自小孤石山(因陀罗势罗婆诃山),至王舍新城(曷罗闍姑利咽城)。

46 “出城南四里,南向入谷,至五山里。五山周围,状若城郭,本是莽沙王旧城”。五山,指鞞婆罗跋山(*Vaibhāravāṇa*)即毘布罗山(今 *Vaibhāragiri*)、萨多般那求河山(*Saptaparnaguhā*,今 *Sonagiri* 山)、因陀罗势罗求河山(*Indraśailaguhā*)(今 *Giriyek* 山)、萨簸怛底迦山(*Sarpisikundikaparvata*,今 *Vipulagiri* 山)和灵鹫山。莽沙王,(*Bimbisāra*)《大唐西域记》卷九作频毗娑罗王。莽沙王旧城,即《大唐西域记》卷九所见矩奢羯罗补罗城(*Kuśāgrapura*)。

47 “入谷,搏山东南上十五里,到耆闍崛山”。耆闍崛山,即《大唐西域记》卷九姑栗陀罗矩吒山(*Gridhrakūṭa*),亦即灵鹫山。山在莽沙王旧城东北。

案:据《慈恩传》卷三,玄奘自波吒厘子城,经那烂陀寺(*Nālandā*),至矩奢羯罗补罗城即王舍旧城(莽沙王旧城),复自该城东北行十四五里至姑栗陀罗矩吒山(即耆闍崛山),山城北门行一里余,至迦兰陀(*Kalandaka*)竹园;竹园西南行五六里,有大石室;又西二十里,有无忧王所建窣堵波;又东北三四里,至曷罗多姑利咽城。法显则自王舍新城(曷罗闍姑利咽城)赴莽沙王旧城(矩奢羯罗补罗城)。两者方向相反。

48 “从此西行四由延,到伽耶城”。伽耶城(*Gayā*),亦见《大唐西域记》卷八,在今印度比哈尔之 *Gayā* 城。

49 “从此[东]南三里行,到一山,名鸡足”。鸡足山,即《大唐西域记》卷九所见屈屈吒播陀山(*Kukkuṭapādagiri*),亦称婆卢播陀山(*Gurupādagiri*)意译“尊足”,即今佛陀伽耶(*Buddha Gayā*)东南之婆播山(*Gurpa Hill*)。

50 “法显还向巴连弗邑。顺恒水西下十由延,得一精舍,名旷野”。据《大唐西域记》卷七,战主国(*Yuddhapati*,今 *Ghāziipur*)东南摩诃娑罗邑(*Mahāsala*,今 *Shahabad* 西之 *Masār*)东

三十里笮伽河北有石柱,记如来伏旷野诸鬼事,本传所谓“旷野”盖指此处。

案:据《续高僧传·玄奘传》(卷四),玄奘乃自波吒厘子城(华氏城)至那烂陀寺,曾经伽耶城、伽耶山,至屈屈吒播陀山(鸡足山)。法显乃自莽沙王旧城,经伽耶城、鸡足山、旷野精舍,至巴连弗邑。

51 “复顺恒水西行十二由延,到伽尸国波罗捺城”。伽尸国(Kāśī),系恒河流域著名古国,即《大唐西域记》卷七所见婆罗痾斯国(Vārāṇasī),婆罗痾斯乃其都域名,亦即本传所见波罗捺(Vārāṇasī),在今印度北方邦之 Banārās。

案:据《慈恩传》卷三,玄奘乃自拘尸那揭罗国,渡阿恃多伐底河(Ajitavati),至娑罗(śāla)林,复从大林中经五百余里,至婆罗痾斯国。法显则自巴连弗邑(波吒厘子城),至波罗捺城(婆罗痾斯国),与玄奘取道不同。

52 “自鹿野苑精舍西北行十三由延,有国,名拘睢弥”。拘睢弥,即《大唐西域记》卷五之憍赏弥(Kausāmbī),故址在今印度北方邦南部 Allahabad 西南。

53 “从此南行二百由延,有国名达嚩”。达嚩(Dakṣiṇa),即《大唐西域记》卷十所见憍萨罗国(Kosala),亦即《慈恩传》卷四之南憍萨罗国,在今印度中部 Mahanadi 河流域及 Godavari 上游一带。

案:据《慈恩传》卷四,玄奘乃自那烂陀至耽摩栗底国后,经乌荼国(Uḍra)折利咀罗城(Caritra)、恭御陁国(Konyodha)、羯陵伽国(Kalinga),至南憍萨罗国(Kosala)。法显乃自拘睢弥(憍赏弥)直接南下达嚩(南憍萨罗国)。

54 “从波罗捺国东行,还到巴连弗邑”。波罗捺国、巴连弗邑,已见前文。

55 “顺恒水东下十八由延,其南岸有瞻波大国”。瞻波(Campa)大国,即《大唐西域记》卷十所见瞻波国,故址在今印度比哈尔东部 Bhāgalpur 西。

56 “从此东行近五十由延,到多摩梨帝国,即是海口”。多摩梨帝国(Tāmrālipti),即《大唐西域记》卷十所见耽摩栗底国,故址在今印度孟加拉国尔邦加尔各答西南 Tamluk,古印度东北部之著名海口。

案:据《慈恩传》卷四,玄奘乃自那烂陀,经伊烂拏钵伐多国(Īraṇyapārvata),至瞻波国;复经羯朱唎只罗国(Kajughira)、奔那伐弹那国(Puṇḍravardhana)、羯罗拏苏伐剌那国(Karṇasuvarṇa)、三摩怛吒国(Samataṭa),至耽摩栗底国。法显可能是自瞻波国直接到达多摩梨帝国(耽摩栗底国)的。

四

智猛启程于后秦弘始六年(404年)。其入竺路线,《出三藏记集》卷一五和《高僧传》卷

三有简单记述。今以前者为主,后者为辅,列述于次。

1 “发迹长安,渡河顺谷三十六渡^[24],至凉州城”。

案:“河”,指黄河。“三十六渡”,难以确指。凉州城,指后秦(姚兴)控制下的姑臧(今甘肃武威)。

2 “既而西出阳关,入流沙,二千余里,地无水草,路绝行人。冬则严厉,夏则瘴热。人死,聚骨以标行路。驢驼负粮,理极辛阻。遂历鄯都、龟兹、于阗诸国,备观风俗”。

案:阳关,故址在今甘肃敦煌西南。鄯都,《汉书·西域传》所载鄯善国。流沙,指阳关与鄯善国之间的沙漠即同传所载白龙堆。龟兹,首见《汉书·西域传》,在西域北道,其故址一般认为在今库车县治东郊的皮郎古城。于阗,如前所述,系南道之国。

看来智猛在到达鄯善国后,和法显一样,北上焉耆。不过他并没有像法显一样自焉耆直接抵达于阗,而是由焉耆经龟兹、抒弥(即《洛阳伽蓝记》卷五“宋云行记”所载“捍摩”)等地抵达于阗。盖据《汉书·西域传》,龟兹“西南与抒弥”接。

3 “从于阗西南行二千里,始登葱岭,而同侣九人退还。猛遂与余伴进行千七百余里,至波沦国。三度雪山,冰崖皓然,百千余仞。飞缁为桥,乘虚而过,窥不见底,仰不见天,寒气惨酷,影战魂栗。汉之张骞、甘英所不至也”。

案:波沦国,应即《魏书·西域传》所见波路(Bolor),亦即《洛阳伽蓝记》卷五“宋云行记”所见钵卢勒国。据载:“从钵卢勒国向乌场国,铁锁为桥,悬虚而度,下不见底,旁无挽捉,倏忽之间,投躯万仞,是以行者望风谢路耳”。波沦国,一般认为在今 Gilgit 附近。

《法显传》称法显经过陀历国入竺,在抵达陀历国前,必定经由波沦。

4 “复南行千里,至罽宾国。再渡辛头河,雪山壁立,转甚于前。下多瘴气,恶鬼断路,行者多死。猛诚心冥彻,履险能济。既至罽宾城,恒有五百罗汉住此国中,而常往反阿耨达池。……猛先于奇沙国见佛文石唾壶。又于此国见佛钵,光色紫紺,四边灿然”。

案:奇沙国,应即法显所经竭叉国。盖据《法显传》,法显抵竭叉国,见“其国中有佛唾壶,以石作,色似佛钵”。法显乃自于阗国,经子合国、于磨国,抵达竭叉国。

罽宾国,即《法显传》所见弗楼沙国。盖智猛“于此国见佛钵”^[25]。而据《法显传》,“从健陀卫国南行四日,到弗楼沙国。佛钵即在此国”。如前所述,弗楼沙国应即宋云所经“乾陀罗城”,亦即《大唐西域记》卷二所见健驮逻国布路沙布逻城。法显乃自竭叉国,经陀历国、乌菴国、宿呵多国,到健陀卫国。

又:传文“复南行千里,至罽宾国。再渡辛头河”云云,《高僧传》卷三作“共度雪山,渡辛头河,至罽宾国”,似乎更准确。

又:《汉书·西域传》所见罽宾国无疑指包括乾陀罗在内的喀布尔河中下游地区,而这一称呼的内涵直至法显、智猛时代尚未改变。由此亦可见,先法显离开于阗的僧韶所赴罽宾,

很可能也是指犍陀卫国,而不是克什米尔。

5“复西南行千三百里,至迦维罗卫国,见佛发、佛牙及肉髻骨,佛影、佛迹,炳然具在”。

案:“迦维罗卫”,《法显传》作“迦维罗卫”。法显乃自弗楼沙国,经那竭国界酰罗城(佛顶骨精舍)、那竭国城、罗夷国、跋那国、毗荼、摩头罗,僧伽施国、厨饶夷城、呵梨村、沙只大国、拘萨罗国舍卫城、都维邑、那毗伽邑等地,抵达迦维罗卫城。

另外:“智猛传”称智猛于迦维罗卫国见佛影、佛发、佛牙及肉髻骨等,然诸圣迹均在Nagarahāra,即法显所传那竭国。前引《法显传》文字可以为证。至于佛牙,亦在那竭国。《洛阳伽蓝记》卷五“宋云行记”明载“那竭城中有佛牙”。知智猛必定经由那竭国。

又,“智猛传”称智猛于迦维罗卫见“佛迹”。按之《法显传》,“佛遗足迹于”乌苁国。知智猛亦曾经过乌苁国。

以上与其指为智猛误记,不如认为“智猛传”编者将智猛于乌苁、那竭两国所见均错系于迦维罗卫国。

6“后至华氏城,是阿育王旧都”。

案:华氏城,即 Pāṭaliputra。《法显传》作“巴连弗邑”。法显乃自迦维罗卫城,经蓝莫、拘夷那竭城、毗舍离国等地,到摩竭提国巴连弗邑(华氏城)。

7“于是便反,以甲子岁发天竺,同行四僧于路无常,唯猛与昙纂俱还于凉州。……以元嘉十四年(437年)入蜀”。

案:智猛归国似取陆道。

要之,智猛一行大致行程如下:至姑臧后,出阳关,历鄯善、龟兹、于阗、奇沙、波沦、乌苁、厨宾、那竭、迦维罗卫,抵华氏城。

五

昙无竭启程于刘宋永初元年(420年),其入竺路线,亦见诸《出三藏记集》卷一五和《高僧传》卷三。本文依据前者。

1“初至河南国,仍出海西郡,进入流沙,到高昌郡。经历龟兹、沙勒诸国”。

案:“河南国”应即法显所经“乾归国”(西秦)。据《晋书·乞伏乾归、乞伏炽盘载记》,以及《资治通鉴·晋纪》(卷一一六)等,西秦更始四年(412年)六月乞伏乾归死,其子炽盘(412—428年在位)迁都枹罕(今甘肃临夏),八月即位,改元永康,自称“大将军、河南王”。一说此处“河南国”指吐谷浑,似未安^[26]。

又,《高僧传》卷一三有载,释法献于元徽三年(475年)“发踵金陵,西游巴蜀,路出河南,道经芮芮。既到于阗,欲度葱岭,值栈道断绝,遂于于阗而反”。案:法献所出“河南”,应指

吐谷浑。而所谓“道经芮芮”似指路过被芮芮控制的高昌地区。盖法献自巴蜀,经吐谷浑王治,西北行抵达敦煌,复自敦煌经高昌、龟兹、疏勒诸国抵达于阗。当然,另一种可能性也是存在的:法献乃经敦煌往赴被芮芮控制的鄯善国^[27],复自鄯善国王治经南道、或如法显取北道(经由焉耆),前往于阗。

“海西郡”,为“西海郡”之误,当乙正;然而这“西海郡”,应为王莽置于青海西者。这里提及这郡名,如果不是当时郡县兴废无常,史籍失载,便是由于采用古地名的缘故^[28]。

流沙,似指敦煌、高昌之间的沙漠地带。《周书·异域传下》:“自敦煌向其国,多沙碛,道里不可准记,唯以人畜骸骨及驴马粪为验,又有魍魎怪异。故商旅来往,多取伊吾路云”。可知昙无竭所取即《西州图经残卷》所载“大海道”:“出柳中县界,东南向沙州一千三百六十里,常流沙,人行迷误。有泉井,咸苦。无草。行旅负水担粮,履践沙石,往来困弊”。

高昌郡、龟兹的地望已如前述。沙勒,即《汉书·西域传》所见疏勒。其故址一般认为在今喀什附近。

2 “前登葱岭、雪山。栈路险恶,驴驼不通。增冰峩峩,绝无草木。山多瘴气,下有大江,洄急如箭。于东西两山之胁,系索为桥,相去五里,十人一过。到彼岸已,举烟为帜,后人见烟,知前已度,方得更进。若久不见烟,则知暴风吹索,人堕江中。行葱岭三日方过。复上雪山,悬崖壁立,无安足处,石壁皆有故杙孔,处处相对。人各执四杙。先拔下杙,手攀上杙。展转相代,三日方过”。

案:昙无竭人竺途径很可能是在抵沙勒后,直接前往竭叉(奇沙),亦即《汉书·西域传》所见蒲犁国,再由竭叉经波沦、陀历去乌菟。盖据《汉书·西域传》,蒲犁国“北至疏勒五百五十里”。因此,昙无竭所登葱岭应即喀喇昆仑,而雪山、大江等便是法显、智猛自波沦至乌菟间所历。

3 “进至罽宾国,礼拜佛钵”。

案:罽宾国,既为佛钵所在,应即《法显传》所见弗楼沙国,亦即智猛所至罽宾国。

4 “停岁余,……西行到新头那提河,汉言师子口。缘河西入月氏国,礼拜佛肉髻骨,及睹自沸水船。后至檀特山南石留寺,住僧三百人,杂三乘学。无竭便停此寺,受具足戒”。

案:辛头那提河,“那提”,梵文 Nadi,意为“河”。“辛头那提”,即辛头河。此处也可能指印度河支流 Swat 河或喀布尔河^[29]。

月氏国,应即法显所历那竭国(Nagarahāra)。“佛肉髻骨”即佛顶骨。《法显传》云:“法显在此国,闻天竺道人于高座上诵经,云:‘佛钵本在毗舍离,今在提陀卫。竟若干百年,(法显闻诵之时定有岁数,但今忘耳。)当复至西月氏国。若干百年,当至于阗国。住若干百年,当至屈茨国。若干百年,当复来到汉地。若干百年,当复至师子国。若干百年,当还中天竺’。”“西月氏国”,意指“西方月氏国”。《高僧传·慧远传》(卷六)载,“远闻天竺有佛影,

是佛昔化毒龙所留之影,在北天竺月氏国那竭呵城南、古仙人石室中”。可证那竭曾被称为“月氏国”^[30]。

檀特山(Daṇḍaloka),《洛阳伽蓝记》卷五“宋云行记”,作“善特山”。据载,山在乌场国“王城西南五百里”。但此处所谓“檀特山”不在乌场国,应即《大唐西域记》卷二所见弹多落迦山,山在“跋虏沙城东北二十余里”,今 Shahbaz Garhi 东北之 Mekha-Sanda 山。

昙无竭当自月氏国(Jalalabad),东赴中天竺时途经檀特山的,这与法显赴“中国”的经由不尽相同。

4 “于寺夏坐三月日。复北行至中天竺。……进涉舍卫国中,野逢山象一群,……后渡恒河”云云。

案:《法显传》称摩头罗以南,“名为中国”。“中国”即“中天竺”。法显自键陀卫国(跋虏沙)至摩头罗(中天竺),经历了竺刹尸罗、弗楼沙、那竭、酰罗、罗夷、跋那、毗荼诸地国。

又,舍卫国,即《法显传》所见拘萨罗国舍卫城。自摩头罗至舍卫,法显经历了僧伽施、闍饶夷、呵梨、沙祇大等处。

又,法显自舍卫城,经都维、那毗迦、迦惟罗卫、蓝莫、拘夷那竭、毗舍离等处,经“五河合口”,抵达摩竭提国巴连弗邑。昙无竭“渡恒河”,或许也是前往巴连弗邑。

5 “后于南天竺随舶泛海达广州”。

案:昙无竭归途亦取海道,但不得其详而知。

要之,昙无竭一行大致行程如下:至枹罕后,出西海郡,历高昌、龟兹、沙勒、竭叉、波沦、陀历、乌茈、闍宾、月氏国,在檀特山夏坐,乃入中天竺,经舍卫等地,渡恒河,至摩竭提国巴连弗邑。

六

综上所述:五世纪中国僧侣入竺通常取西域南北道,抵达竭叉(Gasiani,今 Tashkurgān),然后越葱岭(今喀喇昆仑山 Mintaka Pass 或 Kirik Pass),历波沦(Bolor,今 Gilgit)、陀历(Daraḍa,今 Darel),至乌茈(Uḍḍiyāna,今 Mingōla),再从乌茈赴键陀卫即闍宾(Gandhavat,今喀布尔河中下游)和那竭(Nagarahāra,今 Jalalabad),然后东向赴华氏城以远。

注 释

[1]关于法显入竺路线之考证,近年来最有影响的首推长泽和俊和章巽两家:长泽和俊“法显の入竺求法行”,《シルク・ロード史研究》,东京:国书刊行会,1979年,pp. 415—439,以及“宫内厅书陵部图书寮本《法显传》校注”,《シルク・ロード史研究》,pp. 632—676;章巽《法显传校注》,上海古籍

出版社,1985。本文有关考证以这两家之研究为基础。章巽书集法显研究之大成,有关观点,本文多所采纳,为省篇幅,不一一出注。

[2]长泽和俊注[1]所引文。

[3]《资治通鉴·晋纪三三》(卷一一〇):晋隆安二年(398年)“西秦王乾归遣乞伏益州攻凉支阳、鹑武、允吾三城,克之”。胡注:“支阳、允吾,皆汉古县,属金城郡;鹑武城当在二县之间。张寔分支阳属广武郡;允吾盖仍为金城郡治所”。案:三城均在今兰州西,复得金城或在此时。

[4]长泽和俊注[1]所引文。

[5]《水经注·河水二》:“长宁水又东南,养女川水注之。水发养女北山,有二源,皆长湍远发,南总一川。径养女山,谓之养女川”。

[6]榎一雄“鄯善の都城の位置とその移动”(1)―(2),“オリエント”8-1、2(1965—1966年),pp. 43—80;“法显の通过した鄯善国について”载《东方学会创立二十五周年纪念东方学论集》,1972年,pp. 12—31;长泽和俊注[1]所引文,以及“鄯善王国の歴史地理(上)”,早稻田大学院文学研究科纪要37(1992年),pp. 129—143。

[7]北魏太平真君三年(442年),据《魏书·沮渠牧犍传》沮渠无讳曾自鄯善北上焉耆,似乎也能够佐证法显的路线。当时鄯善国都城亦在罗布泊西南无疑。

[8]贺昌群《古代西域交通与法显印度巡礼》,湖北人民出版社,1956,p. 38,以为法显是经由楼兰城南下扞泥城的。今案:其说未安。

[9]参看孟凡人《楼兰新史》,中国光明日报出版社、新西兰霍兰德出版有限公司,1990年,pp. 268—272。

[10]《魏书·沮渠牧犍传》载:太平真君三年(442年)沮渠无讳曾“从焉耆东北趣高昌”。

[11]参看章巽注[1]所引书,p. 13;冯锡时“法显西行路线考辨”,马大正等主编《西域考察与研究》,新疆人民出版社,1994,pp. 291—298。

[12]白鸟库吉“西域史上的新研究·大月氏考”,《白鸟库吉全集·西域史研究(上)》(卷六),东京:岩波(1970),pp. 97—227, esp. 129—160。

[13]松田寿男“イラン南道论”,松田寿男博士古稀纪念出版委员会《东西文化交流史》,东京:雄山阁,1975,pp. 217—251。

[14]白鸟库吉注[12]所引文,esp. 140—148。

[15]“权于摩”,《通典·边防八·西戎四》所引作“于摩”。

[16]《太平御览·四夷一八·西戎六》(卷七九七)便讹“乌耗”为“乌耗”。

[17]松田寿男注13所引文;马雍“巴基斯坦北部所见‘大魏’使者的岩刻题记”,《西域史地文物丛考》,文物出版社,1990,pp. 129—137。

[18]榎一雄“难兜国に就いての考”,《加藤博士还历纪念东洋史集说》,东京:富山房,1941年,pp. 179—199。

[19]桑山正进《カーピシー=ガンダーラ史研究》,京都大学人文科学研究所,1990,pp. 113—114。

[20]水谷真成译《大唐西域记》,中国古典文学大系22,平凡社,1971年,p. 103;桑山正进注19所引

书, p. 114。

[21]《慈恩传》失载, 据《大唐西域记》卷二补。见杨廷福《玄奘年谱》, 中华书局, 1988年, p. 135。

[22]桑山正进注19所引书, p. 68。

[23]章巽注1所引书, p. 53, 以伐剌拏与跋那为两地, 未安。参看季羡林等《大唐西域记校注》, 中华书局, 1985年, p. 949。

[24]《高僧传》卷三作“渡河跨谷三十六所”。

[25]桑山正进注[19]所引书, pp. 49—52。

[26]松田寿男《古代天山の歴史地理学的研究》, 早稻田大学出版社, 1970年, pp. 143—163。

[27]早在社仓可汗时代(402—410年), 焉耆、鄯善、姑墨等南北道诸国已役属芮芮。虽然由于北魏万度归的西征, 这种役属曾一度中断, 但至少在460年以后, 由于柔然加强了对高昌的控制, 焉耆、龟兹、鄯善、于阗等再次落入柔然的势力范围。说详余太山《吐蕃史研究》, 齐鲁书社, 1986, pp. 193—216。松田氏(出处同注[28])以为, 即使其时鄯善已属柔然, 法显亦不该称之为“芮芮”。今案: 其说并非没有道理。但法显毕竟不是史家, 所言未必严谨。大概他途经鄯善时, 发现该地已为鄯善占领, 便径称之为“芮芮”。又, 法显自吐谷浑王治西行赴于阗的必由之途(无论取南道还是北道)均不属芮芮本土, 如按照松田氏的逻辑, 则“道经芮芮”无法理解。

[28]夏鼐“青海西宁出土的波斯萨珊朝银币”, 《考古学报》1958年第1期, pp. 105—110。

[29]桑山正进注[19]所引书, p. 72。

[30]桑山正进注[19]所引书, pp. 71—72。又, 《高僧传·鸠摩罗什传》(卷二), 载鸠摩罗什“至年十二, 其母携还龟兹, 诸国皆聘以重爵, 什并不顾。时什母将什至月氏北山, 有一罗汉见而异之, 谓其母曰: ……什进到沙勒国”云云。桑山氏以为此处“月氏”亦指那竭, 疑未安。细读上下文, 此处“月氏北山”乃指“龟兹北山”。“月氏”得视为龟兹之别称。盖“月氏”与“龟兹”本为同名异译。

吐火罗与挹怛杂居考

马 小 鹤

主要汉文史料众口一辞地告诉我们, 呾哒“无城邑, 依随水草, 以毡为屋, 夏迁凉土, 冬逐暖处”, 是个游牧民族。近代学者大多对此并无异议。但是, 拜占庭史家普洛科庇乌斯却断然说, 呾哒不是像其它匈人那样的游牧民族, 已经很长时间定居在肥沃的土地上。虽然一般关于呾哒史的论述都引用普洛科庇乌斯的著名描述, 却未对这种记载与汉文记载的矛盾进行深入探讨。西姆斯—威廉斯最近翻译和出版了直接关系到呾哒的巴克特利亚文文献, 为我们提供了崭新的资料, 本文尝试结合对这些资料的分析, 论证普洛科庇乌斯描述的“白匈奴”实际上不是呾哒人, 而是呾哒统治下的吐火罗人。呾哒人与吐火罗人常被混为一谈, 就是因为他们仅仅生活方式不同, 前者为游牧, 后者为定居, 其它方面不易区分。

本文所说的吐火罗人, 是指南北朝隋唐时代居住在葱岭西、阿姆河南一带(今阿富汗北部)、讲伊朗语、使用巴克特利亚文的民族。《魏书》作吐呼罗, 《隋书》、《北史》、《唐书》皆作吐火罗, 《西域记》作覩货逻; 而非指公元六至八世纪居住在吐鲁番、焉耆一带, 操焉耆语、龟兹语的吐火罗人^[1]。

一 “随逐水草”的呾哒人

对于呾哒人为游牧民族, 学术界意见比较一致, 但为了与普洛科庇乌斯的记载进行深入比较, 我们还是扼要介绍主要的汉文史料。

关于呾哒属于游牧民族, 我们最可靠的记载出自宋云在神龟元年(518)十月亲眼目睹的情况:

十月之初, 入呾哒国。土田庶衍, 山泽弥望, 居无城郭, 游军而治。以毡为屋, 随逐水草, 夏则随凉, 冬则就温。乡土不识文字, 礼教俱阙。阴阳运转, 莫知其度: 年无盈闰, 月无大小, 用十二月一岁。受诸国贡献, 南至牒罗, 北尽敕勒, 东被于阗, 西及波斯, 四十余国皆来朝贺。王张大毡帐, 方四十步, 周回以氍毹为壁。王着锦衣, 坐金床, 以四金凤

皇为床脚。见大魏使人,再拜跪受诏书。至于设会,一人唱则客前,后唱则罢会。唯有此法,不见音乐。呾哒国王妃亦着锦衣,垂地三尺,使人擎之。头戴一角长八尺,奇长三尺,以玫瑰五色装饰其上。王妃出则舆之,入坐金床,以六牙白象四师子为床。自余大臣,妻皆随伞,头亦似有角,团圆下垂,状似宝盖。观其贵贱,亦有服章。四夷之中,最为强大,不信佛法,多事外神,杀生血食。器用七宝,诸国奉献,甚饶珍异。按呾哒国去京师二万余里⁽²⁾。

宋云关于乾陀罗国呾哒敕勒的描述,也可供参阅,不再摘引。

《魏书·西域传》已亡佚,余太山在日本学者研究的基础上,对呾哒传原文作了考释⁽³⁾,节录如下:

衣服类胡,加以纁络,头皆翦发,其语与蠕蠕、高车及诸胡不同。众可有十万,无城邑,依随水草,以毡为屋,夏迁凉土,冬逐暖处。分其诸妻,各在别所,相去或二百、三百里。其王巡历而行,每月一处,冬寒之时,三月不徙。……其国无车,有舆⁽⁴⁾,多驼、马。……[受诸国贡献,南至牒罗,北尽敕勒,东被于阗,西及波斯,四十余国皆来朝贺],号为大国。……永熙(532—534)以后,朝献遂绝。

《梁书·滑国》传记载:

至天监十五年(516),其王厌带夷栗随始遣使献方物。普通元年(520),又遣使献黄师子、白貂裘、波斯锦等物。七年(526),又奉表贡献。……女人被裘,头上刻木为角,长六尺,以金银饰之。少女子,兄弟共妻。无城郭,毡屋为居,东向开户。其王坐金床,随太岁转,与妻并坐接客。无文字,以木为契。与旁国通,则使旁国胡为胡书,羊皮为纸。无职官。

《周书·呾哒传》记载:

刑法、风俗与突厥略同。其俗又兄弟共娶一妻,夫无兄弟者,其妻戴一角帽,若有兄弟者,依其多少之数,更加角帽焉。其人凶悍能战斗,于阗、安息等大小二十余国,皆役属之。大统十二年(546)遣使献其方物。魏废帝二年(553)、明帝二年(558),并遣使来献。后为突厥所破,部落分散,贡职遂绝。

上述四种汉文史料比较一致地记载,中国人所接触的呾哒人,直到灭亡,尚为典型的游牧民族,刑法、风俗与突厥略同。

二 城居的白匈奴

普洛科庇乌斯的记载为许多学者所引用。榎一雄在1959年发表的“论呾哒的族属”一文中,引用了其中一段以说明呾哒的体貌:“呾哒事实上是匈人之种类,并且被这样称呼,但

是他们并不与我们所知道的匈人混在一起。他们是匈人中唯一肤色白皙,面貌也不甚丑陋的人。”^[5]

塔库在1967年出版的《匈奴在印度》一书中,更长地引用了普洛科庇乌斯的记载:“他们(吠哒人)不是一个游牧民族,像一般匈人那样从一个地方迁移到另一个地方,而是生活在一个国王的统治下,有他们自己的纲纪制约行政管理。他们对待邻国和自己的百姓的行为是循规蹈矩和开诚布公的,在这方面非常类似罗马人。”塔库认为,汉文编年史家小心地把真正的匈人即匈奴与他们称为厌带夷栗陀即悒怛的吠哒人区别开来,这进一步证实了(普洛科庇乌斯的)这种区分。他们的真正名字是滑,因为伟大的匈人统治者之一的名字叫厌带夷栗陀,所以他们被称为悒怛^[6]。但是,塔库没有注意到,《梁书》所描写的滑国无城郭,毡屋为居,无文字,无职官,更像匈奴,而不像普洛科庇乌斯描写的白匈奴。

比斯瓦斯在1973年出版的专著中,区分两种不同的匈人时,在引用其它史料之后,也复述了普洛科庇乌斯这段描述。然后他说:“这些初步讨论使我们可以考虑,古代被称为匈人的人民明显地分为两大族群。一个是凶猛的,完全游牧的和外貌丑陋的,而另一个是更为文明的,皮肤白皙的,相貌端正的。前者没有他们自己的国王、法律或纲纪,后者则有常规的统治者,遵纪守法。”^[7]他暗示吠哒应该归入后一族群,但是,这显然与主要汉文史料描写的游牧生活不相符合。

比瓦在《中亚》的第4章和在1983年出版的《剑桥伊朗史》第3卷第1分册第5章中都复述了普洛科庇乌斯的这段描写,强调吠哒伙友为贵族殉葬的风俗,不同于匈尼特的葬俗,进而认为两者不能勘同^[8]。李特文斯基在1996年出版的《中亚文明史》第3卷第6章中说明关于吠哒的体貌和语言的数据缺乏精确性时,也引用了普洛科庇乌斯的这段记载^[9]。如果把普洛科庇乌斯的记载看作是对吠哒人的描述,会遇到难以克服的困难:他们到底是游牧的,还是定居的?普洛科庇乌斯是在写到波斯王卑路斯(Περόξης Περσων Βασιλεὺς)与白匈奴的战争时,描述他们的一些特点的。时间当在475年前后。这说明早在五世纪中叶,普洛科庇乌斯笔下的白匈奴已经完全定居,并且高度文明化了。何以汉文史料记载直到六世纪上半叶,吠哒仍然完全游牧,没有文字职官呢?我们如果把普洛科庇乌斯记载的白匈奴视为使用巴克特利亚文的吐火罗人,则许多问题迎刃而解。

三 Πολιτεῖαν ἐννομον ἔχοντες(拥有法治政体)

巴克特利亚是阿姆河与兴都库什山之间阿富汗北部地区的古代名称。公元前4世纪,希腊亚历山大大帝征服巴克特利亚,在其后继者统治下,希腊文化在这里扎下了很深的根子。一些希腊式的大城市被建立起来了,希腊文有很长一段时间是官方文字。公元前2世

纪,北方游牧民族入侵巴克特利亚,其中之一在希腊史料中称为吐火罗(Tokharoi),这个地区后来就由此而得名。《史记·大宛列传》记载:“大夏在大宛西南二千余里,妣水南。其俗土著,有城屋,与大宛同俗。无大王长,往往城邑置小长。其兵弱畏战。善市贾。及大月氏西徙,攻败之,皆臣畜大夏。大夏民多,可百余万。其都曰蓝市城。”大夏就是Tokhara的精确音写。此后吐火罗曾置于贵霜帝国和萨珊—贵霜沙的统治之下。四世纪中叶,这个地区再次遭到北方游牧民族的人侵,希腊文史料称为匈奴特,《魏书》粟特传称为“匈奴”,实即后来被称为𐰺𐰆的部族。《魏书》记载吐呼罗国“国中有薄提城,周匝六十里。城南有西流大水,名汉楼河。土宜五谷,有好马、驼、骡。”王欣认为,𐰺𐰆借助吐火罗上层统治其民的可能性也是存在的。故有的学者亦称其为𐰺𐰆—吐火罗王国^[10]。

普洛科庇乌斯描绘的白匈奴已经很长时间定居在肥沃的土地上,并不像其它匈奴人那样过一种野蛮的生活,看来更像𐰺𐰆统治下的吐火罗人,而不是汉文史料中描述的随逐水草、不识文字的𐰺𐰆人。

尤其使人惊喜的是,普洛科庇乌斯描述的白匈奴法治程度不亚于罗马人和波斯人的特点^[11]如今得到了巴克特利亚文献的证实。普洛科庇乌斯说:

因为他们拥有法治政体(Πολιτεῖαν ἐννομον ἔχοντες),他们在处理相互之间的关系以及与邻国的关系时,他们恪守公正和正义(ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως),丝毫不亚于罗马人和波斯人(Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν)。

杜因将希腊文Πολιτεία翻译为英文constitution,意为宪法、法律。这个希腊文词汇是英文polity的词源,意为政体、国体、政府。πολιτεία源自希腊文πολις,意为城邦,常作为雅典的代称。西姆斯—威廉斯新翻译出版的巴克特利亚文献证明,吐火罗人确实拥有法治程度很高的政体,可以比美于罗马和波斯。

西姆斯—威廉斯1996年的演讲中说,他所知道的出自阿富汗北部的巴克特利亚文文书有近百份,其中有许多是书信,绝大多数是法律契约和类似的文书^[12]。他计划分两卷出版原文转写和英文翻译,另加一册图版。2000年他刊布了第1册,为法律和经济文书^[13],其中有纪年的文书27份,无纪年的文书5份,单子和帐目7份,木简29枚。文书的纪年从157年到459年,如果假设使用的是巴克特利亚纪元,而这种纪元始于公元233年,那就是从公元389年到781年。这个时代长达近4世纪,从奇多罗、𐰺𐰆时代到突厥和伊斯兰时代。文书显示,尽管上层统治者几经变动,但是吐火罗人社会的基本结构有很强的延续性。限于篇幅,我们只简要介绍已经刊布的早期(公元342—527年)有纪年的文书。

第1类是婚约。文书A,写于110年(公元342年),在地区长官(ιανδαγοβιδο)在场的情况下,在若干目击证人以及在文书上盖章者的认可下,一位父亲(公公)及其两个儿子

(新郎)以及这位父亲为之提供自由服务的主子们共同写下这份婚约,这位父亲宣布,为自己的两个儿子娶一个妻子,保证像对待一个儿媳妇那样对待她;两个新郎保证不再另娶妻妾,如果违背婚约,则须向国库支付 20 个金第纳尔罚金,同时支付给女方同样数额的罚金;这位父亲的主子们则承认没有权力要求这位新娘及其子女承担差使,不得以这位新娘的子女为奴隶,如果违背此约,则须向国库缴纳 20 个金第纳尔罚金,同时向对方支付同样数额的罚金。最后列举嫁妆。

这份文书切实说明,早在吠哒征服吐火罗之前,当地人民中就已有一妻多夫的婚俗,而且已经形成固定的法律程序。《隋书》和《册府元龟》均有吐火罗人兄弟共娶一妻的记载。《通典·吐火罗条》记载:“……多男少女妇人,故兄弟通室,妇人五夫,其首戴五角,十夫戴十角,男子无兄弟者,则与他人结为昆季,方始得有妻,不然终身无妇矣,生子属其长兄。”慧超《往五天竺国传》记载:“其吐火罗国,乃至罽宾国、犯引国、谢闼国等,兄弟十人、五人、三人、两人共娶一妻,不许各娶一妇,恐破家计。”^[14]汉文史料的这种记载如今得到了巴克特利亚文文书的证实。至于《梁书》、《周书》、《隋书》所记载的吠哒国“兄弟共妻”的情况,俱见本文有关引文,不再在此重复。

第 2 类是收据。文书 B 写于 137 年(公元 369 年),文书 E 写于 243 年(公元 475 年),文书 G 写于 249 年(公元 481 年),文书 H 写于 250 年(公元 482 年)。这类文书的格式一般是甲从乙处收到若干数量的钱物,此为收据。收到的物资包括:面粉、谷物、葡萄酒、筛子、麦草、苜蓿、小鸡等。文书 G 和 H 讲到,收到的谷物和麦草会上交给 *καναραγγο*,这个称衔早见于贵霜时代,可能意为先锋或将军。不管其词源为何,即使不是吠哒统治下巴克特利亚的最高军事长官,也是地位相当高的将军。

第 3 类是赠送产业或奴隶赎身的契据。文书 C 写于 157 年(公元 389 年),先说明在纥露城(*ρωβαγγο παρο*)写下此契据,列举库西尔达赫姆领主(*χοηοι κοσιρδαχμιο*)和其它公民(*παριγανο*)作为见证人,描述甲拥有的产业的四至,最后声明甲将此产业赠送给乙。如果今后甲方或其后代提出诉讼,则罚款 20 个金第纳尔,另给乙方同样数额的金第纳尔。文书 F 写于 247 年(公元 479 年),先说明在兰城(*λαναγγο παρο*)总督的堂上(*καδαγοβιδο αλπαρο*)写下此证书,列举市场监督(*οασαροβιδο*)等见证人,说明甲曾买乙为奴隶,现在甲已经从乙处收到全部身价,给予乙完全的自由。以后任何人作为据法申请者(*λαδο χοιινυδο*),另制文书,否定乙方已获自由,其申请在堂上无效,须交罚款 50 个金第纳尔,并给诉讼的对方同样数额的罚款。

第 4 类文书是报告书。文书 D 写于 195 年(公元 427 年),比较残破,大概意思是报告从某处地产上生产了若干谷物。

第 5 类文书是契约。文书 I 和 li 写于 260 年(公元 492 年),是出售(或出租?)地产的契

约,文书J写于295年(公元527年)是出售地产的契约。文书J保存特别完好,可以代表这类文书的一般格式:于295年,在马尔城、领主的堂上(χαραιο αλβαρο)写下这份盖印的文书,有证人若干在场,甲方自称为国王的臣仆(ραυο μαρηγο),向乙方说明地产的四至,声明售予乙方,价钱若干,钱地两讫,如今后甲方声称对此地产拥有所有权,引起法律纠纷,则科以罚款,并须向乙方支付赔偿。

这组文书与本文特别有关的是,三份文书都写明:甲方因为无力支付呾哒领主的赋税(ηβοδαλοχοηοι Τωγο),不得不出售(或出租?)地产。这证实五世纪末、六世纪初呾哒对吐火罗地区的控制相当有效。

文书J在同一张羊皮纸上,有两个完整的写本。上面的写本紧紧卷好,用线捆牢,密封起来,盖上五个印。两个印是买卖双方的指印,三个印是证人的印章。在文书背面,穿过密封线的洞的旁边,写有买卖双方和证人的名字。显然,这是准备万一发生诉讼时,在法官在场的情况下,当堂启封宣读的文本。下部的写本是松散地卷着的,显然是契约写成后当堂宣读用的^[15]。这种一设两份的方式是典型的。文书B、C、E、F、H、I等都有两个相同的写本。

对这些法律文书的渊源,以及涉及的地名、官职,需要专文研究。但是,我们只要初步浏览这些文书,就足以对呾哒统治时代前后吐火罗人的法治程度留下深刻的印象。普洛科庇乌斯所描绘的法治程度不下于罗马人和波斯人的白匈奴,更像呾哒统治下的吐火罗人,而不像“不识文字,礼教俱阙”的呾哒人本身。

余太山在1986年出版的《呾哒史研究》中,根据当时掌握的传统史料推理说:呾哒自塞北西迁,征服了中亚诸国,但并没有把这些国家一一消灭,仅仅是强迫它们纳贡称臣。在呾哒治下和势力范围内的小国,依然有自己的国君,有自己的领土,有外交的权利,有信仰的自由,只是必须向呾哒统治者进贡,把他们本土的特产和通商所得源源不断地送到呾哒统治者的中心地区。……扶立傀儡,应该是呾哒迫使中亚小国受其奴役的一种重要手段。虽然迄今为止还没有发现直接的资料,上面的论述总的来说也没有越出推理的范围,但我们可以从呾哒控制高车、波斯和印度的方式中找到有力的佐证^[16]。如今新出的纥露的巴克特利亚文文书以直接资料证实了这一推理的准确。可以补充的是,像纥露这样一个小国,不仅依然有自己的国君,有自己的领土,而且有自己的各级官吏,保存了原来的法治体系,延续着原来的经济生活。

四 吐火罗与悒怛杂居

普洛科庇乌斯的记载把呾哒统治下的吐火罗人的情况误以为是呾哒人本身的情况。但是,随之而来的疑问是,普洛科庇乌斯为什么会发生这种误解?

首先,我们认为普洛科庇乌斯的记载并非空中楼阁之谈,而是有可靠的资讯来源的。他写到,475年前后,卑路斯进军哒哒时,拜占庭皇帝芝诺(Zeno, 426—491, 在位年代 474—491)派往波斯的使臣优西比乌斯(Ευσέβιος)伴随着卑路斯,并在波斯军队陷入包围时,用寓言提醒卑路斯。普洛科庇乌斯对哒哒情况的描述,以及对卑路斯与哒哒的两次战争的相当详细的记载,很可能就是得之于优西比乌斯的报告。

因此普洛科庇乌斯把当时吐火罗人的情况视为哒哒人的情况,与汉文史料的描述大相径庭,应该从吐火罗人与哒哒人的关系,以及中国人与优西比乌斯的观察角度的不同中去寻找原因。

《魏书·西域传》既有吐呼罗国条,又有哒哒国条。据余太山的研究,《魏书》作者魏收是按照董琬、高明所传当时出西域的“四道”来排比诸国的。吐呼罗、哒哒等六国没有插入“四道”之中。魏收只是要为哒哒立传,才把宋云、惠生记事中特别有关哒哒的资料提取出来,结合其它,编成我们今天所说的“哒哒传”,朱居以下诸国仅仅是因为它们是哒哒的属国,所传足以补充“哒哒传”才摘录于后的^[17]。《魏书·高宗纪》记载,和平五年(公元464年)“吐呼罗国遣使朝献”。吐呼罗国条的记载可能就是根据此国使臣的介绍写成的。吐呼罗和哒哒两国的记载史料来源可能不同。魏收或许并不明了这两个国家的关系,因此在吐呼罗国条中,只字未提哒哒,同时在哒哒国条中也未提及吐呼罗。

《梁书·诸夷传》有滑国(即哒哒)而无吐火罗,《周书》异域传也是有哒哒而无吐火罗。当时中国人可能只接触游牧的哒哒,而没有注意哒哒统治下的定居的吐火罗人。到了隋代,中国人对吐火罗和怛怛的情况有了更具体的了解。《隋书·西域传》说:“吐火罗国,都葱岭西五百里,与怛怛杂居。都城方二里。胜兵者十万人,皆习战。其俗奉佛。兄弟同一妻迭寝焉,每一人入房,户外挂其衣以为志,生子属其长兄。其山穴中有神马。每岁牧牝马于穴所,必产名驹。……怛怛国,都乌浒水南二百余里,大月氏之种类也。胜兵五六千人。俗善战。先时,国乱,突厥遣通设字诘强领其国。都城方十余里,多寺塔,皆饰以金。兄弟同妻。妇人有一夫者冠一角帽,夫兄弟多者,依其数为角。……”余太山说:吐火罗“与怛怛杂居”,可谓得其真相。这种情况由来已久,并非哒哒灭亡后才如此^[18]。《隋书》虽然分为两国,但是实际上是吐火罗人与怛怛人杂居。吐火罗人士兵多得多,表明人口也要多得多。但是各有自己的都城。

《新唐书·西域传》写道:“吐火罗或曰土豁罗,曰覩货逻,元魏谓吐呼罗者。居葱岭西,乌浒河之南,古大夏地。与怛怛杂处,胜兵十万。国土著,少女多男。北有颇黎山,其阳穴中有神马,国人游牧牝于侧,生驹,辄汗血。……怛怛国,汉大月氏之种。大月氏为乌孙所夺,西过大宛,击大夏臣之,治蓝氏城。大夏即吐火罗也。”^[19]叙述的情况基本上与《隋书》相似,吐火罗与怛怛杂处是引起隋唐史家注意的一个特点。

龙朔元年(661)唐于于阗以西、波斯以东置羁縻府州,其中最重要的是月支都督府,以吐火罗叶护阿缓城置,领州二十五。接着是大汗都督府,以𪎭𪎭部落活路城置,领州十五。其中有三个州是分别以少俱部落、颂施谷部落和汗曜部落置的。可以证实此时至少部分𪎭𪎭人还保持着部落形态。

《册府元龟》卷964记载,开元十七年(729)正月,册吐火罗骨咄禄颉达度为吐火罗叶护、𪎭𪎭王。可见迟至八世纪,在突厥人统治下,可能还保持着𪎭𪎭与吐火罗杂处的状态。

《册府元龟》卷961记载:

吐火罗国在葱岭西,与𪎭𪎭杂居,胜兵共五万,其国土多男子,少妇人,故兄弟通室。妇人五夫则角饰戴五角,十夫则戴十角。男子无兄弟者则与他人结为昆季,方始得妻,不然者终身无妇矣。被服文字与于阗略同。城北有屋数。颇梨山南崖穴中有神马,国人每牧牝马于其侧,时产名驹,皆汗血,多善马。^[20]一说多畜,逐水草,无城郭,后稍为宫室,人民犹以毡庐百子帐为行屋。

这则记载和上引《隋书》、《新唐书》中都讲到过的用牝马与神马杂交以产汗血马的故事,在《太平广记》卷435中明确记载乃𪎭𪎭人所为;“吐火罗波讷山阳石壁上有一孔,恒有马尿流出,至七月平旦,石崖间有石阁道,便不见。至此日,𪎭𪎭人取草马置池边与集,生驹皆汗血,日行千里。”

《册府元龟》已经比以前更详细地描绘了吐火罗人与𪎭𪎭人的情况。但是,编辑者仍然对有关资料中游牧、定居的矛盾记载无所适从,只得二说并存。今天可以判断,《册府元龟》中讲到的多畜、逐水草、无城郭、后稍为宫室,犹以毡庐百子帐为行屋的人民,主要是𪎭𪎭人。牧牝马于神马之侧,以获得汗血马的,也主要是𪎭𪎭人。在同一地域内,有胜兵五万的土著主要是吐火罗人。他们杂居在一起。这种情况实际上早在𪎭𪎭征服吐火罗之时起就是如此。

主要汉文史料与普洛科庇乌斯关于𪎭𪎭游牧还是定居的记载截然不同的原因,在于两者观察的角度大相径庭。柔然自公元402年至555年,支配蒙古高原达一个半世纪,不断南侵中原,还向西域扩张,曾役属高车。高车独立后,曾联合北魏,同柔然对抗。𪎭𪎭于402—437年间,可能曾役属于柔然。后来𪎭𪎭强大,柔然曾与之联姻。柔然主婆罗门接受北魏安置后又与部众谋叛,投𪎭𪎭,因为𪎭𪎭三妻皆婆罗门之妹。𪎭𪎭向东扩张,曾二次操纵高车王位的废立。正因为北魏、柔然、高车、𪎭𪎭之间存在着密切的利害关系,北魏关注的是号为大国、与蠕蠕婚姻的𪎭𪎭,对其统治下的吐火罗未多加注意。萧梁偏居江东,对西域情势比较隔膜,信息来源恐怕主要是滑国使臣的介绍,只注意了开地千余里的滑国,而不留意吐火罗。突厥木杆可汗“击茹茹(即柔然),灭之,西破𪎭𪎭,东走契丹,北方戎狄悉归之,抗衡中夏。”中亚形势为之一变。北周继承西魏宇文氏联合突厥,以对抗东魏—北齐高氏的政策,只

注意刑法风俗与突厥略同、后为突厥所破的哒哒,也不在意吐火罗。

哒哒居无城郭,游军而治,宋云见到的是哒哒王及其“游军”,没有记载其统治下的定居的吐火罗人的情况。相反,我们可以推测,拜占庭使臣优西比乌斯亲自接触的主要是吐火罗人。哒哒人以毡为屋,俗善战,机动性非常大,在战争期间,全民皆兵,可以完全随军队行动。吐火罗人则住在屋宇中,很难全体迁徙。优西比乌斯随波斯军队行动,所到之处,能接触到的居民,恐怕只有吐火罗人。据《隋书》记载,吐火罗有胜兵者十万人,皆习战,北魏时代的情况可能类似。而哒哒早期有众也不过十万,即使在哒哒国的军队中,很多将士恐怕也是吐火罗人。因此在优西比乌斯的印象中,哒哒就是由这样的人民组成的。正因为优西比乌斯与宋云的身份不同,观察到的各为哒哒国的一个方面,以他们的信息为主要依据的汉文史料和普洛科庇乌斯的记载就显得大相径庭。实际上,他们两人都提供了最可靠的第一手资料,而且可以互为补充,只要我们正确理解,就可以据以拟构当时哒哒国里游牧的哒哒人和定居的吐火罗人杂处的实际情况。

五 结 语

新出的巴克特利亚文文献使我们对四至八世纪吐火罗人社会的状况获得了前所未有的了解。即使初步浏览已经刊布的法律经济文书,已经可以得到深刻的印象:吐火罗人社会是一个法治程度很高的社会,婚姻、土地的赠送、买卖或出租、奴隶的赎身等都有完备的法律手续,写成法律文件,常一式二份,一份在公堂上宣读,另一份由当事人和证人盖印,密封起来,以备将来有法律纠纷时,可以当堂启封宣读。一般物资的收取和上缴也留下帐目,以备核查。

这批文书的初步研究已经足以使我们重新考虑普洛科庇乌斯关于白匈奴的描述是否确实合乎哒哒人的情况。重新仔细阅读汉文史料,使我们相信游牧的哒哒人长期与吐火罗土著杂居,宋云等中国人接触的主要是哒哒王族及其部落、军队或使者,北魏、北周、萧梁都没有在意哒哒统治下的吐火罗。因此给我们留下的记载,相当一致地说明哒哒人是不识文字、礼教俱缺的游牧民族。而拜占庭使臣优西比乌斯随波斯军队行动,所到之处,亲眼看到的多为定居的吐火罗人,或者帮助哒哒作战的吐火罗将士。他即使看到哒哒人以毡为屋、人皆善射,很可能也只视为军队的一般状态,没有意识到这是游牧民族的特点。普洛科庇乌斯以这样的信息为基础,遂将哒哒国主要居民吐火罗人的特点当作整个国家的特点。后世史家不察,遽以为是哒哒人的特点。我们可以相当有把握地说,普洛科庇乌斯描写的“白匈奴”的特点:不是游牧的,已经长时期定居在肥沃的土地上,生活方式不野蛮,有法治政体,相互之间以及对邻国恪守公正与正义不亚于罗马人和波斯人,这些都是吐火罗人的特点。进而我们

可以推论,他描写的“白匈奴”的其它特点:皮肤白皙、形貌不丑陋,贵族有伙友,贵族去世时,伙友殉葬,可能都是吐火罗人的特点。以往将普洛科庇乌斯的记载当作对挹哒人的记载所作出的推论,均须重新考虑。

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注 释

[1]关于操焉耆、龟兹语的吐火罗人,参阅徐文堪,“关于吐火罗人的起源和迁徙问题”,Sino-Platonic,

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[2] Chavannes, 1995, 页 25。

[3] Yu, 1986, 页 158。

[4] 沙畹以为“其国无车有舆”，语不可解，疑有脱误。（Chavannes, 1995, 卷 2, 页 27, 注 3）舆 本谓车箱，因即指车。因此“无车有舆”似乎自相矛盾。但是我们知道，高车因为“唯车轮高大，辐数至多”而得名，《魏书》说哒哒为“高车之别种”，所谓“无车”，可能就是指哒哒没有高车那种车轮高大的车子。“有舆”就是指宋云行纪中讲到的“王妃出则舆之”的那种舆。舆也可指轿子。

[5] Enoki, 1959, 页 37。

[6] Thakur, 1967, 页 49—50。

[7] Biswas, 1973, 页 31。

[8] Bivar, 1969, 页 55—56; 1983, 页 212。

[9] Litvinsky, 1996, 页 136。

[10] Wang, 2001, 页 132。

[11] Procopius, 1914, I. iii. 5—6 [页 15]。

[12] Sims-Williams, 1997, 页 11—13。

[13] Sims-Williams, 2000。

[14] Kuwayama, 1992, 页 24, 171。

[15] Sims-Williams, 1997, 页 14。

[16] Yu, 1986, 页 131—132。

[17] Yu, 1986, 页 237—242。

[18] Yu, 1986, 页 140。

[19] Chavannes, 1935, 页 115—117。

[20] 此处说：“有屋宇杂以穹庐。着小袖袍、小口裤，大头长裾、帽，女子披发为辘。其地与益州邻，尝通同商贾，民慕其利，多往从之，教其书记，为之词译，稍桀黠矣。”而《梁书·诸夷传》河南王（吐谷浑）条在讲了青海龙种善马的故事后说：“有屋宇杂以百子帐，即穹庐也。着小袖袍，小口裤，大头长裾，帽，女子披发为辘。……其地与益州邻，常通商贾，民慕其利，多往从之，教其书记，为之辞译，稍桀黠矣。”颇疑《册府元龟》的这段记载是误抄有关吐谷浑的记载。

北朝隋唐粟特人之迁徙及其聚落补考

荣 新 江

1999年,笔者发表《北朝隋唐粟特人之迁徙及其聚落》一文(以下简称《迁徙聚落》),按照粟特人由西向东迁徙的路线,阐明了北朝隋唐时期入华粟特人从西域到东北的活动遗迹,以及他们在一些城镇形成的聚落情况^[1]。近年来,有关粟特的考古发现日新月异,而陆续公布的石刻材料也继续为我们提供着新的研究素材,因此,笔者觉得现在有必要对已有的新资料加以整理,并且通过新的材料,来识别过去比较零碎或者比较隐晦的有关记载。本文主要是在前文基础上,进一步追索粟特人在河西走廊、中原北方的活动以及他们的聚落遗迹,通过对近年来发现的安伽、史君、翟舍集、翟曹明等新出墓志材料的仔细分析,进一步丰富过去论证过的张掖(甘州)、武威(姑臧、凉州)、长安、并州、代州、汲郡(卫州)、魏州(魏郡)、邢州(巨鹿)等地粟特人的行迹,并增补了天水、西平、夏州(统万城)、同州、介州等地粟特人的情况。

张掖·甘州

西安新出土的北周《康业墓志》称墓主人是康居国王之苗裔,天和六年(571)葬于北周都城长安城东,北周皇帝诏赠其为甘州刺史^[2]。康业西魏时入华,其墓与安伽墓相距甚近,都是粟特首领,故其出身不应是汉代时存在的康居,而是南北朝时期的粟特康国。他被追封为甘州刺史,似乎说明他曾在甘州张掖居住,并经过河西走廊进入中原。

相同的例子是武威出土的《翟舍集墓志》,其中说到:“曾祖呼末,周历内散都督,隋赠甘州刺史。”^[3]翟姓是与粟特关系十分密切的胡人,甚至可能是我们现在尚不清楚的一支粟特胡人^[4]。翟舍集夫人就出自武威粟特大姓安氏,他本人显然也是与张掖有着某种联系的胡人^[5]。

武威·姑臧·凉州

武威自三国时期至唐朝天宝末年,一直是入华粟特人的一个大本营,相关史料已有确切证明,本不必再多言。但近年来公布的新资料,又为我们认识凉州粟特人的存在,提供了新的内容。

据新近解读、翻译出来的敦煌发现的粟特文古信札中的第5号信札,公元4世纪初,姑臧是粟特人的一个贸易集散中心,他们把转运贸易的货物贮存在那里,并派商人四处转贩^[6]。

2000年西安北郊发现的北周大象元年(579)安伽墓,是有关入华粟特人的一次重大发现。据《安伽墓志》记载:“君讳伽,字大伽,姑臧昌松人。”^[7]这清楚地表明这位后来任关内同州萨保的安伽,原本是武威昌松人。昌松是位于凉州东南一百二十里的一个凉州属县。

2003年在与安伽墓相距不远处,又发现了粟特出身的史君的墓葬,这是有关入华粟特人的又一重大发现。墓中石椁门楣上方的石板上,刻有汉文和粟特文的双语铭文,其中汉文铭文称:“君〔讳口,其先〕史国人也。本居西域,土〔□□□□□□〕及延〔派?〕,迁居长安。〔大统〕之初,乡闾推挹,出身为萨保判事曹主。〔□□〕五年,诏〔授〕凉州萨保。而天道芒芒〔茫茫〕,〔沉〕芳永岁。大象元年〔五〕月七日薨于家,年八十六。妻康氏,其〔同年六月七〕日薨。以其二年岁次庚子正月丁亥朔廿〔三日〕己酉,合葬永年(?)县堺〔界〕。”根据吉田丰教授的解读,粟特文的铭文大意是:出身史氏家族的粟特显贵(?)尉各伽(Wirkak)从北周皇帝那里得到凉州萨保称号,其父名为阿奴伽(Wanuk),祖名阿史盘陀(Rashtvantak),妻子维耶尉思(Wiyusi)生于西平(Senpen)。尉各伽与其妻在西平(Senpen)于某个亥(猪)年六月七日结为连理。尉各伽在亥(猪)年(579)五月七日卒于胡姆丹(Khumtan,长安),六月七日,他的妻子也去世。大周大象二年(580)一月二十三日葬^[8]。两种文字的铭文不尽相同,综合起来可以得知,墓主史君原本出身于中亚粟特羯霜那(Kushana)的史国,后迁徙至武威,被北周皇帝封为凉州萨保,应当是凉州粟特聚落的首领。以后又迁居北周都城长安,最后与其粟特康国出身的夫人康氏一起合葬在长安东郊。由史君的凉州萨保称号,我们可以知道在北周时期,凉州境内的粟特聚落有好几处,因为我们知道武威安氏的“婆罗,周、隋间,居凉州武威为萨宝”^[9],而康阿达祖拔达也曾在西魏时任凉州萨保^[10],由此可见武威粟特人势力之强盛。

有关武威胡人的新资料,还有1997年在武威市高坝镇发现的开元十四年(726)合葬墓所出《翟舍集及夫人安氏墓志》。志文称:“公讳舍集,姑臧人也。代禀粹气,人包灵精。西平膏壤,右地名族。曾祖呼末,周历内散都督,隋赠甘州刺史。祖文殊、父沙,并上柱国。公

生蕴奇志,长负大才。国家命金方之师,征铁关之右。公躬擐甲冑,率先艰苦。授上柱国。于是乐道知命,居常待终。而窜疾弥留,游魂莫返。久视年五月八日卒于私第,年六十四。夫人安氏,凉国公之孙也。出身名家,宜于贵室。……开元十四年八月廿八日卒,年七十六。其岁景寅子月十一日,合葬凉东南七里志公乡原茔,礼也。”^[11]据考,安氏祖父为安兴贵,在《安元寿墓志》中有记:“父兴贵,皇朝右骁卫将军、左武卫将军、冠军将军、上柱国、凉公”^[12],翟舍集夫人安氏的父亲很可能就是安元寿其人。我们知道安元寿夫人名翟六娘,而此处的翟舍集夫人为安氏,表明武威安氏与武威翟氏有联姻关系,也为我们过去推测翟姓胡人有可能出自粟特地区提供了又一个佐证。

武威是入华粟特人的一个大本营,因而成为很多在华粟特人的郡望所在。卒于天宝三载(744)的史思礼,是唐隆元年(710)帮助相王李旦一系政治势力灭掉韦后的“唐元功臣”之一,后成为效忠玄宗的龙武军将领。我们知道“唐元功臣”中有不少与粟特人有关,如李仪凤(李怀及夫人何氏之子)^[13]、何德^[14]、薛莫(妻粟特史氏)^[15]等,加之《史思礼墓志》称其为“武威人”,因而我们推测他是入华粟特人的后裔,原籍武威。

武威地区甚至到五代宋初,还被从西北迁往代北的沙陀部人石敬瑭的后人视作他们的郡望。石敬瑭子石重贵和孙石延煦都被契丹掠至辽阳地区,他们的墓志最近在辽阳附近发现,其中石延煦的墓志题作“大契丹国武威石公墓志铭并序”,他曾受契丹封为“武威郡开国伯”^[16],可见一般认为是沙陀部中粟特出身的石敬瑭一族的后人,仍把自己的先世来源追溯至武威。

天水·秦州

从凉州武威东行,经天水、固原而至长安,是古代丝绸之路的干线。天水作为这条交通孔道上的重要城镇,应当有粟特人经停其地,但直接的证据却不多见,因而在《迁徙聚落》一文中没有论及此地的胡人。事实上,早在1982年,天水就发现了一套围屏石榻,年代在北朝晚期或隋代,1992年最初发表时并未特别引起国内学者的注意^[17]。但由于这套石屏的图像和大致同时入藏日本 Miho 美术馆的一套围屏石榻上的图像有类似之处,而后者的人物形象和表现的内容有着浓厚的粟特风格特征,所以,整理 Miho 石棺图像的两位美国学者 A. L. Juliano 和 J. A. Lerner 就据此指出了天水图像的粟特性质^[18]。此后由于1999年在太原发现的虞弘墓石椁和2000年西安发现的安伽墓围屏石榻也和 Miho 藏品及天水石屏拥有一些共同的特征,所以可以认定天水石屏虽然汉化色彩稍重一些,但其基本内容还是属于这些粟特系统的石棺床图像^[19]。这个围屏石榻的主人最有可能是当地的粟特人,也可能是归葬或经过此地的粟特人,其图像为我们追寻粟特人在天水的遗迹提供了重要线索。

在此基础上,我们再来看一些文献的记载,或许就能理解更深一些了。《罗甌生墓志》称:其“祖日光,□(周)任秦州都督,谥曰盘和公。山川通气,珪璧凝姿。天优其才,人济其美。滔滔不测,若江海之纳川流;岩岩高峙,若山岳之□厚地。”罗甌生父任隋鹰扬郎将,本人起家秦王左右、陪戎副尉,娶康氏女子为妻,显庆四年(659)卒^[20]。由此可以推测,其祖父在北周时任秦州(今天水)都督。当然任职秦州不一定是当地人,但很可能是因为当地有不少胡人,所以才任用胡人为当地最高军政长官。

西平·鄯州

西安新发现的《史君墓志》粟特文铭文部分说:“他的妻子生于西平(Senpen),名叫维耶尉思(Wiyusi)的女人。尉各伽与其妻在西平(Senpen)于亥(猪)年第六月第七日(兔日)结为连理。”^[21]这是从吉田丰教授的英文译本翻译过来的。他除了把 *synpyn* (Senpen) 比定为西平外,还考证“猪年第六月的第七日只能是519年(=519年7月19日)”^[22],即北魏孝明帝神龟二年。虽然这一比定在发音方面还存有问题,但从《史君墓志》的上下文来看,是最有可能性的对证。

这一比定把我们的目光引向西平,也就是今青海省西宁市。西平是东汉建安年间(196—219)由金城郡分立出来的,辖境相当于今青海省湟源、乐都二县的湟水流域地区。十六国时,南凉建都于此。北魏改置鄯善镇于此,北周时为乐都郡。隋炀帝大业初重新设置西平郡。唐初改为鄯州,天宝三载更名西平郡,后复名鄯州,其管辖的区域没有太大变化^[23]。虽然史君所在的北周时期此地不名“西平”,但“西平”作为此地古老的名称,可能比“鄯州”更容易为胡人接受,因为他们往往使用更为通行的称呼,如他们用“姑臧”指凉州,用“敦煌”指瓜州或沙州。

西平是丝绸之路青海道(或称“河南道”、“吐谷浑道”)上的重要据点^[24],特别是在南北朝时期,是西域通往南朝的主要道路,因此应当有不少粟特人经停此地。

《曹谅及妻安氏墓志》记:“君讳谅,字叔子,济阴定陶人,晋西平太守曹祛之后也。若夫保姓受氏,可大者宗祫;列象麟图,所高者纓黻。祖贵,齐明威将军。父林,齐定州刺史。六奇拥沙之略,七擒蒙马之谋,斯皆妙冠群才,得诸天纵。君起家朝请大夫,涇州潜城府鹰扬,诏加正议大夫、平州留守。”^[25]曹谅娶妻安氏,本人又姓曹,而其最早的祖先可以追溯至“晋西平太守曹祛”,后来这支曹姓东迁河北,任职于北齐。由这方墓志我们可以知道有曹姓粟特人入华后的著籍地在西平。

固原发现的《史索岩墓志》称:“公讳索岩,字元贞,建康飞桥人也。其先从宦,因家原州。曾祖罗,后魏宁远将军、西平郡公,食邑八百户。识度恢弘,风神宏邈,早申明略,夙著忠

颀。祖嗣，镇远将军、通直散骑常侍，袭爵西平郡公，都、廓二州诸军事、鄯州刺史。”^[26]这里的建康是指河西的建康，具体位于甘州西二百里处。但从其曾祖、祖父都曾封西平郡公来看，后著籍固原的史索岩家的郡望在西平，而且其祖还任鄯州刺史。这样看来，史索岩一家是经过河西走廊的建康，先到西平，然后再到固原的。

上引《翟舍集及夫人安氏墓志》称：“公讳舍集，姑臧人也。代禀粹气，人包灵精。西平膏壤，右地名族。曾祖呼末，周历内散都督，隋赠甘州刺史。”^[27]似乎表明翟舍集的先人在落籍姑臧之前，也先在西平居住，并且是当地的名族。此外，天宝时的《康令恽墓志》记其祖慈感，“解褐拜西平郡掾曹”^[28]，也透露出一丝粟特人与西平相关的信息。

由此看来，大概从东晋十六国时期开始，西平就是东来粟特人落脚的地方，那里或许曾经存在过粟特聚落，所以史君和康氏就在那里成婚，而史索岩的祖父史嗣出任鄯州刺史，也可能是因为那里粟特人众多。西宁的一处窖藏中曾发现一百多枚萨珊波斯卑路斯王（459—484年在位）的银币^[29]，也可以作为粟特人在此经商的佐证，因为学者们现在比较一致的看法是，大量中国出土的萨珊波斯银币都是粟特商人经商所留下的遗迹。

夏州·统万城

今陕西省靖边县北的统万城，曾经是十六国时期赫连勃勃的大夏都城。北魏始光五年（428）北魏攻占统万城，设立统万镇，后改夏州。太延五年（439），北魏征服北凉，迁徙其都姑臧城内大批粟特胡人前往平城。北魏还进而控制整个河西走廊，势力进入西域。于是，从河西走廊经过薄骨律（灵州）、夏州（统万城），沿鄂尔多斯沙漠南缘路到达北魏首都平城（大同），成为一条东西方往来的捷径，远自波斯、粟特的西域使者，纷纷到平城朝贡。六镇起兵叛魏后，统万城一带的胡人与之应接。普泰二年（532），贺拔岳遣部将宇文泰镇守夏州，夏州更成为宇文泰霸业的开创之地。因此，统万城在西魏、北周时仍是北方重镇^[30]。

从统万城所处的地理位置来看，这里应该留有粟特胡人的遗迹，但一直没有线索可寻。直至2000年元旦，笔者与姜伯勤教授一起参观陕西历史博物馆“三秦瑰宝”展览，看到一件标记为“唐翟曹明墓”出土的石墓门，石门为红色底仗，上面的胡人天王形象尤其引人注意^[31]。但当时没有展出翟曹明的墓志，所以虽然我怀疑石门上图像具有北朝因素，但尚难做出肯定结论。后承罗丰先生抄示墓志录文，笔者并有机会在2003年9月与罗丰先生同访靖边县文管所，在当地有关部门领导的关照下，得以抄录《翟曹明墓志》的有关文字：“君讳曹明，西国人也。祖宗忠列，令誉家邦。受命来朝，遂居恒夏。”墓志署葬日为“大周大成元年岁次己亥（579）三月癸巳朔四日己未”。可见翟曹明并非如“三秦瑰宝”展览说明所言为唐人，而是和安伽葬于同一年的西国胡人。与我们一道在靖边文管所参观石门的安伽墓发掘

者邢福来先生也指出,翟曹明墓石门旁的石狮子与安伽墓的石狮非常相像。因此,我们可以把翟曹明作为北周晚期统万城的西胡代表,而我们已经反复论证过翟姓胡人和粟特人的不解之缘,所以说当地很可能存在着不少胡人,而任职夏州天主、仪同的翟曹明,应当就是他们的首领之一。

到了唐代,一些长期居住在此的粟特人,自然也就把夏州当作自己的籍贯所在了。《安旻墓志》记载:“君讳旻,字敬爱,夏州朔方县人。曾讳德,隋任鹰扬郎将。祖达,隋仪同参司。父绩,唐上护军。西凉大族,声振当时。流宦婆娑,遂居塞北。以大周万岁通天貳年(697)捌月拾伍日卒于私第,春秋伍拾有陆。即以神功元年(697)拾月柒日,葬于统万城南貳拾里。”^[32]安旻的祖上是西凉大族,既可以理解为河西凉州的大族,也可以理解为更远的西方(也即粟特)的大姓,他们因官迁居位于塞北的统万地区,成为夏州人。

甚至到了宋朝初年,早已汉化并任宋夏州定难军管内都军指挥使的康成此,在乾德四年(966)三月二十八日去世后,仍要“归葬于夏州张继堡北”^[33]。说明统万也是粟特康氏一家的祖籍之地。

同州·冯翊

在《迁徙聚落》一文的“长安”一节里,我们连带讨论了魏晋南北朝时期渭北地区粟特人的活动情况。新发现的北周《安伽墓志》的有关记载,使我们意识到应当把同州作为粟特人在渭北地区的一个聚集地来重新加以考察。

前秦建元三年(367)冯翊护军郑能进所立《邓太尉祠碑》,记载了前秦冯翊护军所统五部城堡和各部落名称,后者包括“屠各、上郡夫施、黑羌、白羌、高凉西羌、卢水、白虏(鲜卑)、支胡、粟特、苦水”^[34],表明当时以冯翊(今陕西大荔)为中心的渭北地区有粟特部落活动,他们和羌人、鲜卑、卢水胡、支胡(即小月氏)等部族共同生活在这一地区。《梁书》卷一八《康绚传》记:“康绚字长明,华山蓝田人也。其先出自康居。初,汉置都护,尽臣西域,康居亦遣侍子,待诏于河西,因留为黔首,其后即以康为姓。晋时陇右乱,康氏迁于蓝田。绚曾祖因为苻坚太子詹事,生穆,穆为姚萇河南尹。宋永初中,穆举乡族三千余家入襄阳之岷南,宋为置华山郡蓝田县。”北朝时往往用汉代的康居代指粟特康国,康绚一族明显是出自粟特,西晋时迁到蓝田(今陕西蓝田),著籍为蓝田人。《晋书》卷一一八《姚兴载记》记:“扬武、安乡侯康宜驱略白鹿原氏、胡数百家奔上洛。”白鹿原即在蓝田县。马长寿先生据此认为,冯翊的粟特胡人可能是从渭南的蓝田地区迁过来的^[35]。《魏书》卷四一《源子雍传》记:“贼帅康维摩拥率羌、胡,守锯谷(在同州韩城县),断甄棠桥,子雍与交战,大破之。”同州即冯翊,为北魏永平三年(510)所改,说明康绚一族迁走后,因为不断有胡人迁入,所以一直有粟特胡酋率众在

这一地区活动。2000年在西安发现的安伽墓,据墓志记载,墓主安伽实际上是北周大象元年(579)以前的同州萨保,志文称:“君诞之宿祉,蔚其早令,不同流俗,不杂嚣尘,绩宣朝野,见推里闾,遂除同州萨保。君政抚闲合,远迩祇恩,德盛位隆,于义斯在,俄除大都督。董兹戎政,肃是军容,志効鸡鸣,身期马革。而芒芒天道,杳杳神祇,福善之言,一何无验。周大象元年五月遘疾终于家,春秋六十二。其年岁次己亥十月己未朔,厝于长安之东,距城七里。”^[36]“萨保”是粟特聚落首领之意,由此可以推知,在北朝末年,同州地区应当有粟特人组成的聚落,安伽墓出土的围屏石榻上,形象地展现了他们的生活情形^[37]。

长安

笔者前文在讨论长安的粟特居民时,主要是讲隋唐时期的长安。其实在隋文帝建大兴城(唐长安城)前的西魏、北周的长安城中,同样也生活着不少粟特胡人,由于近年来在这座汉以来的长安旧城的东面,亦即隋唐长安城的北面,陆续发现了粟特首领康业、史君、安伽的墓葬,填补了我们对于北朝后期长安粟特人的认识。

康业为粟特康国人,祖上迁居到长安。魏大统十年(544),其祖上由雍州(长安)地区西国胡豪望等举为大天主,北周保定三年(563)三月卒。天和元年(566)诏以康业继掌大天主,至天和六年(571)六月五日卒,诏赠甘州刺史^[38]。虽然目前还不能确定“大天主”的确切含义,但从康业墓的埋葬地点和墓葬中精美的围屏图像,可以知道是长安地区粟特胡人的首领无疑。

如上所述,史君原本为粟特史国人,被西魏或北周皇帝任命为凉州萨保。由于铭文残缺不全,所以史君何时“迁居长安”,我们不得而知。从粟特文铭文说,“在胡姆丹这里,他本人去世。此后,……他的妻子也去世。”则他在死之前,应该就已生活在长安。那么史君作为凉州萨保,一定有不少侍从、亲属随之而来,至少墓志中提到的三个儿子,有可能就继续生活在长安了。

与史君相类似的是,安伽的墓志上写着他去世前的职务是同州萨保,但他的墓室却也葬在了都城长安的东郊,与康业、史君的墓室都在一个区域之内。据上引《安伽墓志》,没有迁居长安的记录,其中说他卒于家中,但不知他的家是在同州,还是在长安。无论如何,他是埋在长安城东的。这或许是北周王朝笼络胡人的一个做法,即把胡人首领的墓都埋葬在京城附近,并且墓室的规模相当可观。不过这只是我们的一种推测,尚没有确切的证据说明为何如此。

值得注意的是史君、安伽埋葬的大象年间,正是胡人在长安较为活跃的时期。《周书》卷七《宣帝本纪》记:大象元年十二月甲子,宣帝“还宫,御正武殿。集百官及宫人内外命妇,大

列妓乐,又纵胡人乞寒,用水浇沃为戏乐。”又《通典》卷一四六《乐》六《龟兹乐》条云:“周武帝聘突厥女为后,西域诸国来媵,于是有龟兹、疏勒、安国、康国之乐。帝大聚长安胡儿,羯人白智通教习,颇杂以新声。”^[39]表明当时北周的宫廷当中,和北齐宫廷一样,也弥漫着一股胡音、胡乐以及胡人之戏,只是这些胡人没有达到被封侯、开府的程度^[40]。

《周书》卷二二《柳庆传》记载雍州有胡家被劫事^[41],可见长安有胡人住户,他们之所以被劫,或许是因为他们身为商贾而较为富裕的缘故。

这些北周时期长安的胡人居民,虽经战乱,应当仍有不少人随着隋文帝而迁居大兴城,最后成为唐长安城的居民。唐代长安的粟特移民,除了我们在《迁徙聚落》中所列举的之外,最近发表的西安出土的《康文通墓志》,又为我们补充了一个例证:“君讳文通,字懿,青州高密郡人也。祖和,随上柱国。父鸾,唐朝散大夫。奕叶豪门,蝉联望族。雄材硕量,地灵光陆海之城;祖德家风,天爵盛三秦之国。大夫则高名籍甚,誉重西都;柱国则英略冠时,气凌南楚。公方流有玉,圆析有珠。豫章七年,稍浮云而笼白日;天马千里,游阊阖而观玉台。修身践言,非礼不动。温厚谦让,唯义而行。于是晦迹丘园,留心坟籍。以为於陵子仲辞禄而灌园,汉阴丈人忘机而抱瓮。白珪无玷,庶几三怀之言;黄金满簏,不如一经之业。讲习诗礼,敦劝子孙。松乔之术未成,灵化之期俄远。春秋年七十九,万岁通天元年七月十日终于安邑里之私第,粤以大周神功元年岁次丁酉十月甲子朔廿二日乙酉,葬于京兆万年县龙首乡界之礼也。”^[42]康文通自称是青州人,祖、父都没有什么正式的官职,他本人是没有入仕的处士,但他留心坟典,讲习《诗》、《礼》,已经是彻底汉化的粟特后裔。他所居住的安邑坊,虽然在城东的东市附近,但这里不像西市附近那样,并不是粟特人集中生活之区,说明康文通就像他的名字一样,已经是地道的唐人了,而且他的墓葬中表现的文化色彩,也基本上是典型的唐朝文化^[43]。

太原·并州

对于我们在《迁徙聚落》所论述的并州太原的粟特聚落,新出土的《虞弘墓志》给予了进一步的印证:“公讳弘,字莫潘,鱼国尉纥麟城人也。……大象末(581年),左丞相府,迁领并、代、介三州乡团,检校萨保府。……开皇十二年(592)十一月十八日葬于唐叔虞坟东三里。”^[44]虞弘的族属尚未确定,但肯定是西北民族,他入仕北周时,出任领并、代、介三州乡团,并检校萨保府的官员,说明这三州都有以胡人聚落为统辖对象的萨保府。另外,并州萨保府也得到唐初《龙润墓志》的印证:“君讳润,字恒伽,并州晋阳人也。君属隋德道消,嘉遁贞利,资业温厚,用免驱驰。唐基缔构,草昧区夏。义旗西指,首授朝散大夫,又署萨宝府长史。”^[45]关于北朝末到唐朝初年,我们现在几乎可以找到检校萨保府官员(虞弘)、并州萨保

(翟娑摩河)、萨保府长史(龙润),以及萨保府民众的记载,因此可以比较全面地看到北方重镇并州以粟特胡人为主体的聚落情况。

咸亨四年(673)的《康元敬墓志》记有“父作相,九州摩诃大萨保”^[46],我在《迁徙聚落》一文中认为九州摩诃大萨宝或许是指负责高齐全国胡人政教事务的最高首领。最近承罗新先生教示,这里的“九州”实指北魏六镇之乱后在并肆地区侨置的恒、燕、云、朔、蔚、显等六州加上并、肆、汾三州。这也提示我们并州粟特聚落的存在,但我们尚不能据此头衔而认为上述其他八州都有粟特聚落存在,或许康作相负责管理这些州聚落和非聚落中生活的所有胡人,是当时中央政府任命的这一区域的胡人大首领。

雁门·代州

据上引《虞弘墓志》:“大象末,左丞相府,迁领并、代、介三州乡团,检校萨保府。”可知北朝末年,代州有粟特聚落,并立有萨保府。这一记载补充了我在《迁徙聚落》一文中论证代州粟特人踪迹时早期材料的缺乏。

介州

我们把介州(今山西介休)补充为粟特胡人聚落所在,也是根据《虞弘墓志》的此句志文:“大象末,左丞相府,迁领并、代、介三州乡团,检校萨保府。”虽然其他可以佐证的材料不多,但从介州在晋中所处的地理位置以及其在北朝隋唐时期南北交通线上的位置,从而推知这里曾经有较多的粟特人居住,也是完全顺理成章的。今天介休城关大街东端仍有祆神楼,其北面曾有传说建于北宋时期的祆神庙,后改为三结义庙。姜伯勤先生曾详细考察并论证了祆神楼的祆教性质,并把它放在北宋时的语境下做了很好的论述^[47]。虽然这座祆神楼的年代较晚,而且保存的祆教内涵已经不多,但如果考虑《虞弘墓志》有关介州萨保府的记录,则这里曾经建立与粟特胡人有关的祆神庙,是完全有可能的。祆神楼的存在也可见粟特文化影响之深远。

汲郡·卫州

关于汲郡的粟特人,《迁徙聚落》一文曾举《康威墓志》和《康令恽墓志》,来证明河北道卫州曾有粟特人居止。现在或许可以补充一些身份不够明显的粟特后裔的材料。《史曜墓志》称:“君讳曜,字慕伶,汲郡人也。”^[48]又撰于晚唐大中十年(856)的《康叔卿夫人傅氏墓

志》,称“叔卿,其先卫人也”^[49],表明这个已经娶了汉人女子为妻的粟特后裔,也是来自卫州地区。其葬地在河南道淄川县,则其后来迁到淄州,即今山东淄博地区。

魏州·魏郡

我们曾据《康郎墓志》称“君讳郎,字善庆,魏州贵乡人也”,证魏州郭下贵乡县有著籍之粟特人,而《安元寿墓志》称“祖罗,周开府仪同三司,隋石州刺史、贵乡县开国公”,也表明安元寿一家与此地有某种关系。按“贵乡县开国公”的记载,又见于安元寿父亲安兴贵或叔父安修仁的碑铭^[50],以及安兴贵曾孙安忠敬的碑铭中^[51],可知并非虚言。

关于魏州的粟特人,我们还可以补充《康固墓志》的记载:“君讳固,字义感,春秋七十有二。以开元八年十月廿一日,寝疾终于魏州馆陶县之别业也。”^[52]墓主人姓康,曾经在粟特人比较集中的西州(吐鲁番)做官,但从他的名字“义感”和娶成州刺史赵氏长女为妻来看,已经是一个汉化的粟特后裔。馆陶县在魏州北五十里,当魏州北上的通路,康固在此有自己的别业,表明他可能在比较早的时间就住在这里了。康固逝于易州遂城县令的官位上,其地亦在河北道,位于定州和幽州之间。

巨鹿·邢州

1995年,在河北邢台市桥西区,曾发掘唐墓五座,其中编号为M47的墓中,出土墓志一合,志盖篆书“唐故史夫人志”,墓志首行题“唐会稽故康氏夫人墓志铭并序”,可惜的是考古简报没有给出录文,所附的图片又不够清楚,故而尚不得其详^[53]。从图片上可以看到史夫人大概是太和三年(829)卒。这位嫁给史公的康氏,籍贯为会稽,综合来看,应当是粟特后裔。我曾在《安史之乱后粟特胡人的动向》一文中,论证过安史之乱以后的河北地区成为粟特人的向往之地,他们在那里不必特别掩饰自己的胡人出身^[54]。但因为长期在中国的生活,尽管有的还保持着胡人之间的通婚习俗,墓志整个表现出来的形象已经是唐人了,这里的康氏应当就是这样的例证。

关于河北地区的粟特移民,森部丰利用恒州《开元寺门楼石柱刻经造象并柱主题名》、恒州获鹿县《本愿寺石幢题名》以及幽州房山云居寺石经题名,来研究相当地域的粟特居民^[55],可以补充笔者《迁徙聚落》一文的不足。至于安史之乱前后胡人向河北地域的迁徙,除了笔者《安史之乱后粟特胡人的动向》一文外,森部丰先生也发表了一些研究成果^[56],读者可以参看,此处不复赘述。

另外,山东青州(益都)发现过一座北齐武平四年(573)的石棺石屏,其图像主题与安伽、虞弘、Miho 的粟特系统图像相似,虽然墓主人的装束不是粟特人,而可能是鲜卑人或汉人^[57],但其上的胡人形象非常明显,加之青州龙兴寺所出卢舍那佛法界人中像上的胡人图像,似乎已经透露出胡人进入山东半岛的信息。但这些尚属于间接的材料,因为图像是可以复制的。比较直接的文献材料中,尚未见到纯粟特人在今山东地区留下的遗迹,上引《康文通墓志》说:“君讳文通,字懿,青州高密郡人也。”^[58]但康文通实际已经是彻底汉化的粟特后裔,不足为据。因此对于山东地区的情况,在此也不进行讨论,而寄希望于将来。

以上是笔者对东来中国的粟特人及其建立的移民聚落所做的进一步系统考察,虽然所处理的这些材料零散琐碎,但把这些资料和笔者前文综合起来看,我们可以更加深刻地认识到中古时期粟特人在中国北方分布之广泛深入,而且,一些重要的萨保墓的发现也提醒我们,粟特聚落在北朝、隋、唐时代政治史、社会史上的重要性。此项研究也为我们讨论粟特贸易网络、宗教传播、图像整合、聚落形态、汉化进程等许多问题,提供了坚实的基础。

注 释

- [1] 初刊于北京大学中国传统文化研究中心编《国学研究》第6卷,北京大学出版社,1999年;收入作者《中古中国与外来文明》,三联书店,2001年,页37—110。
- [2] 《康业墓志》全文尚未发表,参看孙福喜、程林泉《建所十年考古工作回顾》,西安市文物保护考古所编《西安文物考古研究》,陕西人民出版社,2004年,页19;程林泉、张翔宇《第七座有围屏石榻的粟特人墓葬》,《文物天地》2005年第3期,页48—52。
- [3] 王其英编《武威金石录》,兰州大学出版社,2001年,页46—47。
- [4] 参看荣新江《中古中西交通史上的统万城》,陕西师范大学西北环发中心编《统万城遗址综合研究》,三秦出版社,2004年,页32—33。
- [5] 刘永增发现敦煌莫高窟第196窟一则题记作“民州弟子甘州萨保朝谒”,并认为民州即岷州,其人原籍岷州,后为官张掖,任“甘州萨保”。见所撰《莫高窟第158窟的纳骨器与粟特人的丧葬习俗》,《敦煌研究》2004年第2期,页17—18。若此条材料真实可信,则更能直接证明张掖地区曾有粟特胡人聚落存在。
- [6] F. Grenet, N. Sims-Williams and É. de la Vaissière, “The Sogdian Ancient Letter V”, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, XII, 1998, pp. 91—104; 毕波《粟特文古信札汉译与注释》,《文史》2004年第2辑,页88—93。
- [7] 陕西省考古研究所《西安发现的北周安伽墓》,《文物》2001年第1期,页8,图7;页25—26;又《西安北周安伽墓》,文物出版社,2003年,页59—63。
- [8] 西安市文物保护考古所(杨军凯、孙武执笔)《西安北周凉州萨保史君墓发掘简报》附录,《文物》

2005年第3期,页31—32。

[9]《新唐书》卷七五下《宰相世系表》,中华书局,1986年,第11册,页3446。

[10]周绍良编《唐代墓志汇编》,上海古籍出版社,1992年,页124。

[11]《武威金石录》46—47页。关于这座墓葬的情况,参看黎大祥、刘万虎《武威发现大唐上柱国翟公墓》,《中国文物报》1998年4月8日;黎大祥《武威大唐上柱国翟公墓清理简报》,《陇右文博》1998年第1期。

[12]志文载吴钢编《全唐文补编》第1辑,三秦出版社,1994年,页67—69。考证见黎大祥《武威文物研究文集》,甘肃文化出版社,2002年,页34。

[13]《全唐文补遗》第6辑,三秦出版社,1999年,页407—408。

[14]《全唐文补遗》第3辑,三秦出版社,1996年,页97—98。

[15]《全唐文补遗》第5辑,三秦出版社,1998年,页349—350。

[16]都兴智、田立坤《后晋石重贵石延煦墓志铭考》,《文物》2004年第11期,页87、92。

[17]天水市博物馆《天水市发现隋唐屏风石棺床墓》,《考古》1992年第1期,页46—54。

[18]A. L. Juliano and J. A. Lerner, "Cultural Crossroads: Central Asian and Chinese Entertainers on the Miho Funerary Couch", *Orientalism*, Oct. 1997, pp. 72—78;周晶汉译文载周伟洲主编《西北民族论丛》第1辑,中国社会科学出版社,2002年,页275—287。

[19]参看A. L. Juliano and J. A. Lerner, "The Miho Couch Revisited in Light of Recent Discoveries", *Orientalism*, Oct. 2001, pp. 54—61;陈永耘汉译文载周伟洲主编《西北民族论丛》第1辑,页288—305;李永平《天水出土围屏石榻刻绘图案的内容及相关的几个问题》,《陇右文博》2001年第2期,页28—32;姜伯勤《隋天水“酒如绳”袄祭画像石图像研究》,《敦煌研究》2003年第1期,页13—21;收入作者《中国袄教艺术史研究》,三联书店,2004年,页155—170。

[20]《全唐文补遗》第2辑,三秦出版社,1995年,页274—275。

[21]《西安北周凉州萨保史君墓发掘简报》附录,《文物》2005年第3期,页32。

[22]吉田丰《西安新出史君墓志的粟特文部分考释》,原为提交“粟特人在中国”国际学术讨论会(北京,中国国家图书馆,2004年4月23—25日)论文,修订本收入荣新江等编《粟特人在中国——历史、考古、语言的新探索》,中华书局,2005年待刊。

[23]《隋书》卷二九《地理志》,第3册,页815;《元和郡县图志》卷四〇陇右道部州条。参看孙福喜《西安史君墓粟特文、汉文双语题铭汉文考释》,原为提交“粟特人在中国”国际学术讨论会论文,修订本收入《粟特人在中国——历史、考古、语言的新探索》,待刊。

[24]夏鼐《青海西宁出土的波斯萨珊朝银币》,《考古学报》1958年第1期;收入《夏鼐文集》下,社会科学文献出版社,2000年,页36—38。

[25]《全唐文补遗》第4辑,三秦出版社,1997年,页318。

[26]罗丰《固原南郊隋唐墓地》,文物出版社,1996年,页45。

[27]《武威金石录》,页46—47。

[28]王育龙《唐长安城东出土的康令恽等墓志跋》,荣新江主编《唐研究》第6卷,北京大学出版社,

2000年,页396。

[29]夏鼐《青海西宁出土的波斯萨珊朝银币》,《夏鼐文集》下,页32—38。

[30]参看荣新江《中古中西交通史上的统万城》,页29—33。

[31]陕西历史博物馆编《三秦瑰宝》,陕西人民出版社,2001年,页133。姜伯勤先生在《中国祆教艺术史研究》页180—181对此有简要的说明。

[32]康兰英编著《榆林碑石》,三秦出版社,2003年,图29,录文见211页。

[33]《榆林碑石》,图82,录文见253页。

[34]碑石原立于陕西省蒲城县东北邓公(邓艾)祠内,故又称“邓艾祠堂碑”。1972年移存西安碑林博物馆。图版见荣新江、张志清编《从撒马尔干到长安》,北京图书馆出版社,2004年,页105。

[35]马长寿《碑铭所见前秦至隋初的关中部族》,中华书局,1985年,页21—22。

[36]《文物》2001年第1期,页8,图7;页25—26;《西安北周安伽墓》,页59—63。

[37]荣新江《北朝隋唐粟特聚落的内部形态》,作者《中古中国与外来文明》,页111—168;Rong Xinjiang, “The Illustrative Sequence on An Jia’s Screen: A Depiction of the Daily Life of a Sabao” (安伽石屏的图像程序:一个萨保的日常生活画卷), *Orientalism*, February 2003, pp. 32—35 + figs. 1—7。

[38]孙福喜、程林泉《建所十年考古工作回顾》,《西安文物考古研究》,19页;程林泉、张翔宇《第七座有围屏石榻的粟特人墓葬》,页48—52。

[39]杜佑《通典》,王文锦等标点本,中华书局,1988年,页3726。

[40]有关北周长安的胡人,参看毕波《北周的胡人与胡化》,待刊。

[41]《周书》,北京中华书局,1971年,页371。

[42]西安市文物保护考古所《唐康文通墓发掘简报》,《文物》2004年第1期,页29—30,图30。

[43]同上,页17—30+61。

[44]山西省考古研究所等《太原隋代虞弘墓清理简报》,《文物》2001年第1期,页27—52。张庆捷《虞弘墓志考释》,荣新江主编《唐研究》第7卷,2001年12月,页145—176。

[45]《全唐文补遗》第5辑,页111。

[46]《唐代墓志汇编》,页571。按,“康居”之“康”字,“九州”之“九”字,据洛阳市文物工作队编《洛阳出土历代墓志辑录》,北京中国社会科学出版社,1991年,330页所刊图版补。

[47]姜伯勤《论宋元明时期山西介休的祆神楼》与《山西介休祆神楼古建筑装饰的图像学考察》两文,均收入《中国祆教艺术史研究》,页271—298;万毅《西域祆教三联神崇拜与山西介休祆神楼》,荣新江、李孝聪编《中外关系史:新史料与新问题》,科学出版社,2004年,页259—269。

[48]《全唐文补遗》第6辑,70页;《新中国出土墓志·陕西》二,文物出版社,2003年,补21。

[49]《唐代墓志汇编》,页2347。

[50]“阙题”碑铭,《文馆词林校证》,中华书局,2001年,页173—174。

[51]张说《河西节度副大使鄯州都督安公神道碑》,《文苑英华》卷九一七,中华书局,1990年,页4828—4829。

[52]墓志录文见《全唐文新编》第21册,吉林文史出版社,1999—2001年,页14961;图版及史睿的解

- 说,见《从撒马尔干到长安》,页141。
- [53]邢台市文物管理处《河北邢台市唐墓的清理》,《考古》2004年第5期,页52—53,图三一。
- [54]纪宗安、汤开建主编《暨南史学》第2辑,暨南大学出版社,2003年(2004年),页102—123。
- [55]森部丰《唐代河北地域におけるソグド系住民——开元寺三门楼石柱题名及び房山石经题记を中心に》,《史境》第45号,2002年,页20—36。
- [56]森部丰《唐前半期河北地域における非汉族の分布と安史军渊源の一形态》,《唐代史研究》第5号,2002年,页22—45;又《8—10世纪の华北における民族移动——突厥・ソグド・沙陀を事例として》,《唐代史研究》第7号,2004年,页78—100。
- [57]山东省益都县博物馆(夏名采)《益都北齐石室墓线刻画像》,《文物》1985年第10期,页49—54;夏名采《青州傅家北齐画像石补遗》,《文物》2001年第10期,页49—54;郑岩《青州北齐画像石与入华粟特人美术——虞弘墓等考古新发现的启示》,巫鸿主编《汉唐之间文化艺术的互动与交融》,文物出版社,2001年,页73—109;姜伯勤《青州傅家北齐画像石祆教图像的象征意义》,《艺术史研究》第5辑,中山大学出版社,2004年;收入作者《中国祆教艺术史研究》,页63—76。
- [58]《唐康文通墓发掘简报》,页29—30,图30。

Description of the Overland Route to China in Hudud al-'Alam: Dates of the Underlying Itinerary

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Summary

The present paper deals with the description of China and East Turkistan as presented in the anonymous Persian geographical treatise *Hudūd al-'Ālam* ("Regions of the World", composed in 982 AD), and the parallel text of *Zayn al-Axbār* ("Adornment of Narratives") of Abū Sa'īd Gardīzī (1049 – 1052), as well as some other medieval Persian and Arab texts, which have a common, but lost, source of information.

The ascription of various towns of the Far East and, especially, Gansu province, to one of the various political forces of that time (Chinese, Tibetans, Uyğurs, Muslims), and some other data suggest that the original lost text was composed in the second half of the eighth century, most probably in 766 AD. Thus, Kūšyar, Kučā, and also probably Xutan, three of the four Chinese garrisons in Eastern Turkestan, are said to belong to the Chinese. The Chinese forces lost the garrisons in 791 AD. Ganzhou, in our text is said to be in Tibetan hands, but Suzhou still under Chinese control; in fact, Suzhou fell to the Tibetans in a few months after Ganzhou, in winter 766 – 767.

It is noteworthy that almost the same dates were reached by K. Czeglédy, on the basis of examining a section on the Eastern Turks in Gardīzī's book.

The curiosity expressed in the document in question regarding the Manicheans suggests that it passed through the hands of the Samanide vizier al-JAYHĀNĪ (first half of the tenth century), the author of a lost geographical treatise, who was himself Manichean.

In addition, geographical identifications of some of the obscure place-names from the text are

dealt with. Thus, a town called *Baysūr*, which is said to be a station on the way to Xi'an, is proposed to be equated with the gloss *Fuynsūr*, or **Vaynsaur*, defined as "town in China" in the later Persian dictionaries. Its description is very similar to that of the town *Husnābād* in the later report of Fiyyāth ad-Dīn NAQQĀŠ, and the latter place-name definitely designates Lanzhou, thus, Lanzhou is called *Baysūr* in our text.

* * *

A precious piece of information on the history and geography of the Far East is preserved in two Early New Persian works: in the anonymous geographical treatise *Hudūd al-Ālam*^[1] ('Region, or Borders of the World'), compiled in 982 AD for the ruler of Gōzganān (Northern Afghanistan)^[2], and in the large section on "Turks"^[3] in the historical book *Zayn al-Axbār* ('Ornaments of Information') of Abū Sa'īd Gardīzī^[4], composed in 1049 – 1052, also on the territory of Afghanistan.

The two texts are to a great extent interrelated with one another in the description of the Far East and the Northeast, and are definitely derived from one and the same, lost source of information^[5].

It has been known for a long time that this underlying text includes materials centuries earlier than the date of compilation of HA and Gdz's work. W. W. BARTHOLD in his preface to HA (translated in Minorsky, 1937, p. 26) says that the description of *Xāmcū* (Ganzhou, 甘州, Zhangye in the Gansu corridor) with the Tibetan ruler refers to the situation contemporary to the Arab geographer Ibn XURDĀDBEH (the two versions of his geography were compiled in 847 – 7 and 885 – 6 AD). Minorsky (1937, pp. 226 – 227) notes that in the description of China the statement that *Xumdān* (Chang'an, Xi'an, Par. 9, No. 3) was still reckoned as the capital, cannot be later than 907, when the capital was brought to Loyang; an exaggerated (at least) statement that the Chinese are mainly Manichaean could hardly be true after 843 AD, when Manichaeism was banned; the absence of Uyğurs (*Tuyuzuryuz*) in Gansu cannot be true after 844 AD. The ascription of Xutan, Kāšyar and Kučā to China shows these places as still three of "Four Garrisons", thus, the text must be dated before the Chinese garrisons there were annihilated by Tibetans and Turks in 791. K. Czeplédi (1973) attributed Gdz's source on the Northeastern Turks to 746 – 780 AD, or, more precisely, to a span between 770 and 780 AD (for his argumentation, see below). É. de la Vaissière (2002, pp. 314, 320) remarks that the conditions of Gansu can not be later than 840.

In the present article I try to argue that the description of China and Tibet as well as the Tur-

the *Tuyuzuyuz* land mirrors the political conditions of the second half of the eighth century, most probably of 766–767, the time of Tibetan success in the eastern part of the Gansu corridor and in Western China. At the same time, the Chinese garrisons in East Turkistan, separated from the mainland, continued to defend themselves until 791 AD.

Let us start with the conditions of the “Four Garrisons” of Chinese in the “Western Regions”: *Xutan* (*Khotan*, *Yutian*, 玉阡), *Kučā* (*Kucha*, *Anxi*, 安西), *Kāšyar* (*Kashghar*, *Shule*, 疏勒) and *Pañjikaθ-Besbaliq* (*Beshbalyq*, *Beiting*, 北庭 near modern Gucheng). The whole of the Tarim Basin, or *Kāšyaria* itself, seems to be considered a part of China. At least, in HA, Par. 5,3, the mountain *Mānisā*, which is to say, a combination of Himalaya, Altunshan, Alai and Tianshan, has China as its border all along its winding path. Moreover, either the town of *Upper Barsxān*, situated on the Southeastern shore of Issyq-kul, or the passes to the Southeast of it, leading to Aqsu, were called the “limits of China”. This statement is often found in many Muslim sources (Ibn XURDĀDBEH, p. 29, Qudāma, pp. 205–6, Gdz, 256, Yāqūt, I, pp. 565).

As for the four principal towns of the “Pacified West”⁽⁶⁾, according to HA and, partly, Gdz, three of them were still considered to be Chinese, and information on the fourth is too scarce.

Xutan, in HA, Par 9, 18, is said to be an independent principality, its king calls himself “the Grandee of Turks and Tibetans” (*‘Azīm at-Turk wa-t-Tubbat*, cf. Mujmāl, Najmabadi, Weber, 2000, p. 323: *‘Azīm al-Xutan*), and the king lives on the boundary of China and Tibet. Nevertheless, it is described in the section on China. Gdz (pp. 270–271) also places his detailed description of *Xutan* in the chapter on China.


Xutan possessed a local dynasty, but it was subject to China until 790 AD: apart from the general history of the “four Garrisons”, which includes *Xutan*, the latest Chinese official document from Dandān-uiliq near Xutan is dated back to 790 (Stein, 1907, p. 177, Chavannes, 1907, p. 533). No contacts of *Xutan* and China are known from that time until 938 AD, when the first Khotanese embassy of a long series, after an extended break appeared in Kaifeng. The title *‘Azīm*, literally, “Grandee, Majesty”, shows some phonetic similarity (with metathesis) to *a-mo-zhi* (阿摩支, EMCh *Sa-ma-i’iā/içi*, Khot. *āmāca* [BAILEY, 1982, p. 13]), the designation of the Khotan ruler (Stein, loc. cit.).

Kučā “is situated on the frontier and belongs to China, but the *Tuyuzuyuz* constantly raid the inhabitants and loot them. The town possesses many amenities” (HA, Par. 9, 10). This description, also incorporated into the section on China, leaves no doubt that *Kučā* was still under Chi-

nese control. The Chinese lost it to Tibetan hands probably along with Beiting, in 790 AD. In any case, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Wukong (悟空), visited Kučā in 789 or somewhat earlier (Lévi, Chavannes, 1895, p. 363). On the presence of Uyγurs (Tuγuzuyuz) in the Northern Tarim Basin long before 840, see Moriyasu, 1981.

Kāšyar “belongs to Činistān (China) but is situated on the frontier between the *Yaymā*, Tibet, *Xirxīz* and China. The chiefs of Kāšyar in the old days were from *Xallux*, or from *Yaymā*” (HA, Par. 13, 1) This statement, again, unambiguously states that Kāšyar was still a Chinese town. Contrary to HA, Gdz (264) says that in the old days Kāšyar belonged to the Tibetan emperor. However, we see it written here as *Tubbat-xān* and not *Tubbat-xāqān*, as usual, and it may

be an incorrect writing of * *Xalluxān* - *Qarluqs* ().

). In fact, Kāšyar really was held by Tibetans between 674 and 692 (Beckwith, 1987, pp. 40, 54). We do not know the exact date when the Chinese lost Kāšyar; *terminus post quem* is 787-788 AD, when Wukong visited the town and saw the Chinese deputy-governor there (Lévi, Chavannes, 1895, p. 362).

Our source is silent about the Chinese presence in Beiting (*Bešbalīq*, *Panjīkaθ*, near Guchen). In fact, HA names it only once (Par. 12, 2) as one of the five villages to the north of the mountain *Tafqān* (Bogdo-shan, the Eastern Tianshan⁽⁷⁾), and it is said to have been the summer-camp of the king of Tuγuzuyuz. On the other hand, we know the fate of Beiting at the end of the eighth century much better than that of any other of the “Four Garrisons”; for related quotations from *Jiu Tangshu*, CCXXXI, 57a, see Chavannes, 1907, pp. 537 ff, and Escedy, 1964; cf. Moriyasu, 1981; the town was subjugated by the Tibetans, and the Chinese officer (*jiedushi*) Yang Xigu (杨袭古), with two thousand soldiers, went to Xizhou (西州, near Turfan) in the seventh month of 790. He tried to return to China but disappeared somewhere in the heart of the Gobi, after the Uyγurs had betrayed him. It is noteworthy, according to the same text that, before the Tibetan attack, Beiting was surrounded by Turkish peoples: six thousand tents of the Shatuo (沙陀) were located there, and Uyγurs themselves were situated in the neighbourhood.

However, describing *Činānjkaθ*, the capital of Tuγuzuyuz (HA, Par. 12, 1), which is Qočo in the Turfan oasis, the text mentions the “Chinese limits” nearby. Might it be that the text intends to designate Beiting, or maybe Xizhou in the same oasis? In view of Par. 5, 6, where *Tafqān* mountain is located on the Sino-Uyγur border, the second possibility is more probable.

To sum up, the presence of the Chinese government in two of the “Four Garrisons” of the West, namely *Kāšyar* and *Kučā*, is immediately stated in HA. For *Xutan* the picture is less evident, and *Pañkaθ* = *Bešbal'γ* = Beiting is strangely unmentioned in this connection. These garrisons appear to be isolated enclaves in the Turko-Tibetan sea: *Kučā* was constantly looted by Uyγurs; *Kāšyar* was situated among Tibetans, *Yaymā*-Turks and Kirgizs (*Xirxlz*, read **Xallux*,

Qarluqs: *خلخیان* = Arabic *خلخين* > *خلخين* > *خرخيز*). The stations between *Xutan* and the Tibetan heartland (HA, Par. 11, 10—20) were said to have been taken by the Tibetans from Chinese hands not long previously.

The preceding entry on Tibet (HA, Par. 11, 9) deals with certain *Tūsmat* (or *Tōsmat*), a land (*šahr*) which was “formerly held by the Chinese and now by the Tibetans”. Prof. F. W. Thomas (*apud* Minorsky, 1937, p. 259) proposed to identify *Tōsmat* with Tibetan 'Mdo-smat, “Lower Mdo”, a region south of Koko-nor. The position of BwsmB (*توسمب*, *Tōsmat* without dots), given by Bērūnī in his Canon, to the Southeast of *Čināñkaθ* (Turfan), justifies this equation. *Mdo-smat* was essentially captured by Tibetans in 757 (Becwith, 1987, p. 146).

The locations of the above-mentioned places as well as the general directions of the mentioned itineraries are given in Map 1. However, the material above cannot give the exact date of the text in question. The most suggestive portion is the description of the Gansu corridor, held partly by Tibetans, and partly by Chinese.

The route through Gansu to *Xumdan* (Chang'an) is described stage-by-stage by Gardizi (268), but with unreliable distances, and in HA, Par. 9, 4—16, where the towns are listed from East to West, but not in the form of an itinerary, as is typical for this text. The stages (from West to East) are as follows:

Kasān (only in HA, Par. 9, 16), if corrected into **Sūsān* (*سوسان* > *سوشان* > *کسان*), could hypothetically be equated with Shouchang (寿昌, EMCh *dzuw' / dzuw^h-tç^hiaŋ*⁽⁸⁾, Khotanese *suçanā* [Stael-Holsten, 12.2]), see Hamilton, 1958, p. 122. Shouchang was located 40 km to the SW of Dunhuang.

Sājū (read *Šājū*, HA, Par. 9, 15, Gdz, 268: *Šāčū*) is Shazhou 沙州 EMCh, *šai / šε:-tçuw*, Tib. *Ša-cu*, Khot. *šacū*, Uyγur *šaču baltq*), better known as Dunhuang; as already BARTHOLD in his translation of Gdz, cf. also BAILEY, 1949, p. 48.

Sanglāx (HA, Par. 9, 14, Gdz, 268) is Chinese *Changle* (常乐, EMCh *dziay-lak*); the ruins under the same name still exist, around 100 km to the East from Dunhuang and 50 km to the West of Guazhou; it is also Khot. *śālahā*, see Hamilton, 1958', p. 122. A very close form of this place-name, *cnkl'xy*, appears in a late Turko-Sogdian letter (Simš-Williams, Hamilton, 1990, A2, comm. p. 26). The initial *s* (and not the expected *č/j*) in this name can be explained as the etymological Persianization of the foreign name; *sanglāx* means "stony plane".

Xājū (HA, Par. 9, 13, not Gdz) is Guazhou (瓜州, EMCh *kwai/kwε:-tçuw* Tib. *Kva-cu*, Khot. *kvacū*), as already BARTHOLD; it is modern Guazhoukǒu, to the south of Anxi.

Kučā (HA, Par. 9, 10, justly omitted by Gdz on this place) is inserted here probably due to inaccuracy of the author.

Kūymar (read *Kūyman*, كورمن for كورمن; only in HA, Par. 9, 11) is "Jade Gate", *Yumen* (guan) 玉门(关), EMCh *ṡuawk-mən*, Khotanese *gākāṃ aṇā*, *gākāṃjīnā*, see Hamilton, 1958, p. 127, cf. Henning, 1938, p. 553, BAILEY, 1949, p. 48; in Tang times it was located not far from the present-day Yumen.

Burj-i Sangīn (Stone-tower, HA, Par. 9, 12), "A large village in China, prosperous and very pleasant". The name seems to be a reminiscence of *λίθινος πύργος* of the Ptolemaic tradition, as proposed by BARTHOLD and supported by Minorsky (1937, p. 26, 233). Otherwise, it can be either Shibaocheng, 石堡城 "Stone-fort City", Tib. *Jid-par* (Beckwith, p. 129, fn 124), to the South of Koko-nor; or *Shicheng* 石城 "Stone-city", one of the Sogdian settlements to the South of Lobnor, near modern Charkhlik, see Stein, 1921, pp. 320 ff; Giles, 1930, pp. 826-7. From the geographical standpoint, the most plausible location of this place is another, modern Shibaocheng, some 80 km to the South of Anxi, between Dunhuang and Yumen. A. Stein, who visited this place, noted ruins of a stone fort (180 square feet), guarding a defile through Nanshan; "though its remains look recent, the position is one which is likely to have already claimed military value in earlier times" (Stein, 1921, III, p. 1115). In any case, *Burj* "tower" in the name remains a Ptolemaic reminiscence.

Either *Suxčū* or *Sōkjū* (the first in HA, Par. 9, 9, Gdz, 268, the second only in HA, Par. 9, 8⁽⁹⁾) corresponds to Suzhou (肃州 EMCh *suwk-tçuw*, Khotanese *sauhā:cū*; modern Yögurs still pronounce it *Suk-chū*). at current Jiuquan. *Suxjū* is said to be a larger town, but dependent on *Sōkjū*. Minorsky (1937, p. 232) supposed that both the place-names refer to Suzhou. Hamilton




(1958, p. 128), on the contrary, understands *Suxčū* as Suzhou, and *Sōkjū* as standing for

* *Saujuan* (سوقچون from سوچون), that is *Jiuquan* (酒泉, EMCh *tsuw'-dzwian*), the seat of the Suzhou prefecture. The reconstruction of Hamilton seems to be rather dubious.

Xāmčū (HA, Par. 9, 7, Gdz, 268) is Ganzhou (甘州, EMCh *kam-tçuw*, Khot. *kaṃācū*, Tib. *Kam-bcu*), modern Zhangye.

Xālbak (only HA, Par. 9, 6) is a difficulty. Minorsky (1937, p. 232) identified it with

Sandābil, the capital of China according to Abū Dulaf  ; Hamilton (1958,

129 – 30) proposed to correct it into **Čanyek* (  ) or **Čangyeg*, for Zhangye (张掖, EMCh *trian^(h)-jiajk⁽¹⁰⁾*), the capital of Ganzhou prefecture.

Kučān (HA, Par. 9, 5, *Kučā* by Gdz 268, *Kūsān* on Kāšyārī's map; see Minorsky, 1937, p. 230), represents Sogdian *kc'()*n in the Ancient Letters and in the inscription from Xi'an of 580 AD (Yoshida, 2005, p. 58, 5); it is Guzang (姑臧, EMCh *kɔtsaŋ*), later Liangzhou (涼州, EMCh *liang-tçuw*, Khot. *laicū*, Tib. *leŋ-cu*), modern Wuwei, as Henning, 1948, p. 609 – 10.

Bayšūr (or, *Buyšūr* – HA, Par. 9, 4, in Gdz, *Bayšūra*, p. 268, 269), the last station before Chang'an, has not yet been interpreted successfully. This town is said to be located on the *Fiyān* river (Gdz, 268 – 'Ayyān in HA, Par. 6, 9, the river is called 'Inān). Minorsky (1937, p. 230) supposed that *Fiyān* is a transcription of Chinese *Jiang* (江, earlier, *Kiang*) "river", "Yangze" *par excellence*. Thus, he admitted that the itinerary reflected a special route, going from Gansu to Sichuan and then to the North. The name *Bayšūr* itself he interpreted as a common Persian word for "salt pond" (*Burhān-i Qāte'*, Mu' in, 1963, I, p. 290⁽¹¹⁾), similar to the designation of a place between *Saraxs* and *Harāt* in *Xurūsān*. Thus he located it near *Ziliqing* in Sichuan, famous for its salt-wells.

This interpretation, of course, is hardly acceptable from straightforward geographical logic, and the last place of the itinerary must be located much to the North of that place; the river *Fiyān* is evidently supposed to be Huanghe. These considerations were put forward by P. Pelliot (1963, pp. 819 – 820), but without much detail, and he guessed that *Bayšōr* is Lanzhou (兰州), the

main crossing of Huanghe.

Hamilton (1958, pp. 130 – 138) introduces a long argument on the identity of *Bayšōr* and the *Fiyān* River. He tries to show that *Fiyān*, not only in this locus, but in the river chapter of HA as well (Par. 6, 2), represents Huanghe, and not Yangze. His main argument (apart from

risky restorations of *Kisau* into **Māšū* [ماشو < کيسو], for Tib. *Rma-čhu*, the name of the Upper Huanghe, and emendation of province names *Irš* and *Xūrš* into **Lūnšē* and **Xōšē* [for

Longxi 陇西 and Hexi 河西, on the Yellow River above Ordos: ارسى > لونشى >

خوش > خوشى and ايرش > ارسى]), is the identification of the spelling *Fiyān*, not with *Jiang* (江) for Yangze⁽¹²⁾, but with *Huang* (黄, EMCh □*waŋ*), “Yellow (River)”.

As for *Bayšūr(a)*, he compares the place-name 'Bug-chor from the Tibetan texts. The latter, unfortunately, has not been identified yet. F. W. Thomas thought this might be in the Lobnor region, while G. Clauson thinks it is the Turkic heartland on the Orkhon. Hamilton (1958, p. 131) proposes that Ordos was designated as *Bayšūra* by the Occidentals as the place with the greatest proximity to Tujue country; thus, *Bayšōra* was sought by him somewhere near Lingwu 灵武, through which the Huanghe passes in the Western part of Ordos.

My identification of *Bayšūra* with Lanzhou is based exceptionally on the Iranian tradition. Apart from *Bayšōr*, *Burhān-i Qāṭi'* (Mu'In, 1963, III, p. 1464) has the entry *Fuyanšōr* (so vocalized!), defined thus: “a name of a town in China, and its inhabitants have the best faces and they possess beauty, and many idols and idol-makers live there. It is also spelled with the first *fathā* (i.e., *Fayanšōr*)”. It seems evident that *Bayšūr(a)* and *Fayanšōr* represent one and the same place. A variation of initial *f* and *b* is explained as two possibilities of transcribing foreign (here, Sogdian) labiovelar *v* (β) in Persian: with *f*, *w* or *b* (Lurje, 2001, p. 23), the medial *n* could easily be lost the course of copying.

Moreover, the name *Fuyanšōr*, better vocalized as **Vayn-šaur*, can be explained as an Iranian—Sogdo-Bactrian compound. The first part of this name, *Vayn* is evidently Sogdian β*yn*-, OIr. *bagina*—“temple”, the word very active in Central Asian toponymy (Smirnova, 1971, Weber, 1988). It falls into agreement with the “idols” and “idol-makers” of *Vaynšaur*. I am very

grateful to Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams for his interpretation of *šawr* as the Bactrian form *paopo* / *šawr*/from Old Iranian **xšaθra-*, Middle Persian, Parthian *šahr* "town, country, province".^[13]

My colleague Ralph Kauz kindly reminded me, in this connection, of the description of the Chinese town of *Husnābād* according to the report of ʿIyyāθ ad-Dīn NAQQĀŠ, the envoy of Timuride Šāhrux to China (1421 – 22 AD), as preserved in the text of *Zubdat at-Tawārīx* of HĀFIZ-I ABRŪ (ed. Jawādī, 1372, II, pp. 833 – 834, cf. Kauz, 2005, p. 79). Here I give a summary of the related text:

After a long journey the embassy reaches the Qarū-mūrān River (lit. , "Black River", the Turko-Mongol designation of Huanghe, see Pelliot, 1959, 182 – 3), and crosses it over a wonderful pontoon bridge with iron chains. On the other side of the river, there is a town. The embassy is given a dinner (*tōy*) there, more majestic than ever before. One finds an extremely grandiose idol-temple in this town, such a building the ambassadors had not seen on their way from the border of China; there are three taverns (*xarābāt*), there are beautiful girls, and some of them are said to have preserved the seal of virginity; guilds of manufacturers (*ašnāf-i pēšawarān*) in the town are extremely skillful. Although the people of China are generally handsome, this town is called Beauty-town (*Husnābād*)....

Obviously, this *Husnābād*, "Beauty-town", is the Persian translation of Lanzhou, 兰州, lit. "Prefecture of Orchids" or "Prefecture of Beauty". The similarity of description (majestic idol-temples and beauty of inhabitants^[14]), as well as geographical considerations concerning *Husnābād* and *Bayšūr*, strongly suggest that one and the same town is described.^[15]

Another (and very indirect) argument for equating *Bayšūr* with Lanzhou is the statement in HA (Par. 6, 2) that the river *Kisau* (**Māšū?*, *Rma-čhu*) receives its name *ʿIyān* (most probably, *Huang*) from the limits of the *Bayšūr* downstream. In fact, the name Huanghe is applied to the river after the inflow of the Taohe, some 50 km above Lanzhou (Hwangho, WL).

The location of the places described above can be seen on Map 2.

Now let us turn to the political side of this matter. Among these places the following ones are ascribed in HA to the Chinese or Tibetans:

Bayšūr (Lanzhou) – belongs to China;

Kučān (Liangzhou) – Chinese and Tibetans reside in it;

Xālbak (Zhangye???) – governed from China;

Xāmcū (Ganzhou) – half of it is owned by the Chinese and the other half by the Tibetans. A perpetual war goes between them. Their government is on behalf of the *Xāqān* of Tibet;

Saukjū (Suzhou?) – frontier of Tibet; its government is from China;

Xājū (Guazhou) – government from China;

Sājū (Shazhou, Dunhuang) – belongs to China;

Kasān (Shouchang?) – is governed by the Tibetans;

“Stone tower” (Shibaocheng?) – belongs to the Chinese.

As a whole, we see that Gansu was divided between the Chinese and Tibetans. As Minorsky (1937, pp. 226–227) noted, the absence of Uyğurs (*Tuyuzuryuz*) in Gansu reflects the situation prior to 844. But I think that the date can be reached with greater precision.

Guazhou was in Chinese hands until 776 (Beckwith, 1987, p. 776, DEMIÉVILLE, 1952, p. 172, both citing *Yuan he jun xian tu zhi*, XL, 8a), and Dunhuang probably resisted until 787 (DEMIÉVILLE, 1952, pp. 172–177, 359–360). Liangzhou was raided in 758–760 and captured in 764 (Beckwith, p. 149, citing *Old Tibetan Annals, Continuation*, Dog year, 758–759 or 759–760; *Yuan he jun xian tu zhi*, 40: 2v (p. 557), *Jiu Tangshu*, 196a: 5239, *Xin Tangshu*, 216a: 6088), but nothing is said on the possessors of *Kučān* in our text.

The most important point here is the statement that the government of Ganzhou is on behalf of the Tibetans, while Suzhou was still in Chinese hands. In fact, Tibetans captured Ganzhou in the second year of Yongtai (14 February–17 December 766), while Suzhou fell within several months, in the first year of Tali (17 December 766–3 February 767); see DEMIÉVILLE (1952, p. 171, note 2, citing *Yuan he jun xian tu zhi*, XL, 3b, 5b). These data may give us the exceptionally precise date of the text: 766 AD.

However, a few other points seem not to agree with the date proposed: Shouchang fell in 781 (DEMIÉVILLE, 1952, pp. 359–360), while *Kasān* is said to be in Tibetan hands. On the other side, equation of *Kasān* with Shouchang is no more than a guess and graphical restoration here is rather risky (see above).

Another point is Lanzhou/ **Vayñsawr*: Lanzhou was taken by the Tibetans in 762 or 763, in order to strengthen their rearguard before capturing Chang'an in 763 (DEMIÉVILLE, 1952, pp. 171–172, fn. 3, citing *Jiu Tangshu*, XI, 3b, CXCVI A, 9a, *Tangshu*, VI, 6a, CCXVI A, 8a); it was yet in Tibetan hands in 764 (DEMIÉVILLE, loc. cit. *Tangshu*, VI, 6a, CCXVI A, 8a). On the other hand, **Vayñsawr* is ascribed to the Chinese. I was unable to find any information as to whether the Chinese recovered it during the years following; might it have been lost to the Chinese for some time after the Tibetans' withdrawal from Chang'an?

The description of Gansu in HA, as a whole, demonstrates the same time of original composi-

tion as the description of Eastern Turkestan; the second half of the eighth century. More precisely, I would date it to winter 766 – 767 AD.

It is noteworthy that almost the same date was proposed by K. CZEGLÉDY (1973) for the Turkish section of Gdz's work, namely 746-780 AD. Let me give here a conspectus of his argument: The text obviously reflects the time between the fall of the Western Turkish Kaganate and the fall of the Uyğur Empire (744 – 840 AD). The report on the *Qarluq* uprising demonstrates the conditions of 770 AD. But the report on the *Yaymā* tribe (which emigrated from the *Tuyuzyz* lands, moved westwards and was settled among the *Qarluqs* by Turk-*Xāqān*), finds support in the Old Turkish *Shine-usu* Inscription (Malov, 1959, pp. 35 – 39) and *Xin Tangshu*, 215/B (trans. Liu, 1958, I, pp. 230 – 231). The first says, about a revolt among the Uyğurs, that then a certain tribe escaped to the *Qarluqs*; the second gives information about ABUZ (*Abusi*, 阿布思) *yabyu*, who fled from An Lushan and was later extradited to China and executed in 754—both refer, in CZEGLÉDY's view, to the same wanderings of the *Yaymā* tribe. So the story of *Yaymā* is dated back to the late 750s.

CZEGLÉDY also analyses Gdz's sources of information. At the end of his "Section on the Turks" Gdz (p. 279) enumerates the authorities he has quoted: "Routes and Kingdoms" (*Masālik wa mamālik*) of JAYHĀNĪJAYHĀNĪ, book of Ibn XURDĀDBEH, once called *Kitāb-i Axbār* ("Book of Information"), certain *Tauḍī' ad-Dunyā* ("Vanity of the World", or better, * *Rub' ad-Dunyā*, "(Inhabited Quarter of the World") of IBN AL-MUQAFFA' (p. 256) and "some information from everywhere". CZEGLÉDY (1973, pp. 261 ff) thinks that since the only direct quotation of IBN AL-MUQAFFA', namely about the Turks as descendants of YĀFIΘ (JAPHETH), is followed by genealogical legend of *Qıryızs*, the latter was also taken from IBN AL-MUQAFFA's book. Descriptions of the *Qarluqs*, *Kimāks*, *Yaymā* and *Barsxān* appear to be related with *Qıryızs*, and are thus quoted from Muqaffa' as well. However, IBN AL-MUQAFFA', the great Persophile Arab writer, died around 757 AD, and the information on the Turks is some twenty years later. So, CZEGLÉDY (1973, p. 267) ascribes this text to the son of Muqaffa, who is known as a translator from Greek into Arabic, and wrote under the same *taxallus* (literary pseudonym) as his father.

However, what is really ascribed to IBN AL-MUQAFFA in Gdz's work (p. 256) is the statement that Turks are Japhethides; the following text may have come from some other source. This statement is, however, an *opinio communis* of all the Islamic authors, see HELLER [RIPPIN], 2002.

Only in the last lines of his article does Czeplédy suggest that this information may have come from an Arab embassy to China; such envoys came almost every year to the Tang court in the mid-eighth century.

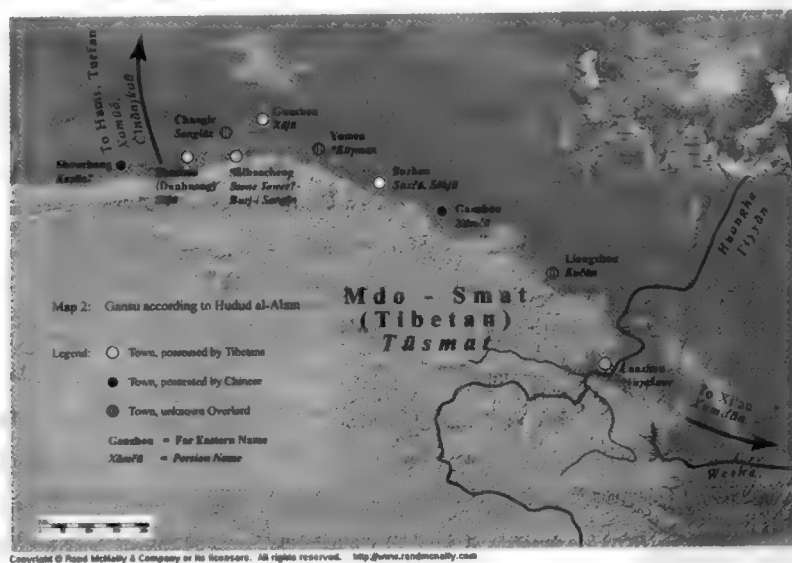
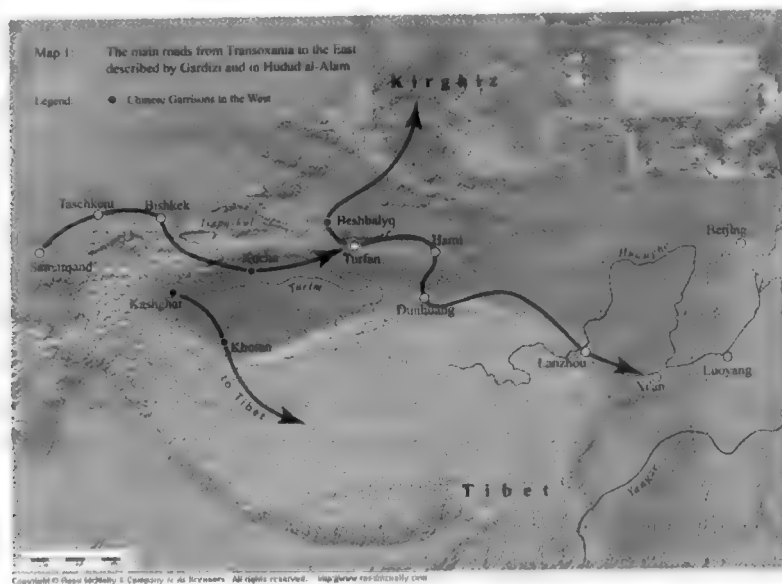
As I have tried to show above, the description of China, including the Tarim Basin and Gansu, was composed at almost the same time (766 AD?), as proposed by Czeplédy for the chapter on the Eastern Turks and, thus, the two were most probably based on one and the same source. A report of an embassy, or a trade-caravan to China (the two did not differ much, in fact) would be the most expected source of information. But this report was certainly not used by Gdz or in HA immediately, but rather was incorporated into a later narrative.

I believe that JAYHĀNĪ is the best candidate for the middleman between the original text and what has survived. Abū 'Abd-Allāh JAYHĀNĪ, vizier of the Samanide court, wrote his geographical text "Book of Routes and Kingdoms" (*Kuāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik*) in the beginning of the tenth century. The text is lost, but it was widely used, with references or without, by various Arab and Persian geographers; see GÖKCENJAN and ZIMONYI (2001, esp. pp. 34–49).

We observe a special curiosity regarding the Manichaeans in the text of HA and Gdz. Thus, "most of the Chinese" are said to be Manichaeans (HA, Par. 9, 0⁽¹⁶⁾), the statement being, at the very least, exaggerated. The inhabitants of Guazhou (HA, Par. 9, 13) and Dunhuang (Par. 9, 15), the town known first of all for its Buddhist monuments, are said to be Manicheans, too. In Gdz, pp. 266–268, a large section is dedicated to Manichean (*Dēnāwarī*) costumes at the *Tuyuzuyuz* (Uyğur) court. GÖKCENJAN and Zimonyi (2001, pp. 4–10) demonstrate that, according to various contemporary anecdotes, JAYHĀNĪ himself was Manichaean. So, the curiosity exhibited in the two texts about Manicheans finds its solution as being the personal preference of JAYHĀNĪ, the intermediary of the text.⁽¹⁷⁾

* Postscript * :

Now I consider much more likely that the underlying text of itinerary was composed not by Jayhani, but rather by Ibn Khordadbeh. The MS of Ibn Khordadbeh's Geography used by H. G. Raverty in his commentary to *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (esp., Vol II. p. 961–962) contained the very same information on Tughuzghuz people with our sources; in my opinion it does withstand criticism addressed by V. F. Minorsky on p. 237 of *Hudud al-Alam*; details will be discussed elsewhere.



Notes

- [1] From here on, all the Persian and Arabic quotations, including the place-names, names of persons and works, are given according to LAZARD's transcription and, when necessary, the form in Arabic script (in my handwriting, since the Windows fonts I know do not support various additional characters and particular handwriting forms) is supplemented. Several "less pronounceable" forms are quoted in transliteration

- without vowels, as, e. g., in Western renderings of Chorasmian. The Chinese names are given in Pinyin and original signs at the first appearance; Early Middle Chinese reconstructed pronunciations, when needed, are given according to PULLEYBLANK's dictionary (1991); the other variants of reconstruction are given alongside occasionally only when quoted by other authorities.
- [2] Henceforth, abbreviated as HA. The facsimile edition of the unique manuscript of the St-Petersburg branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, with a preface and index, was published by V. V. BARTHOLD (1930; English translation of the preface introduces MINORSKY's book, 1937); the printed text was prepared by Manöčehr SUTÖDA (1961). V. F. MINORSKY's English translation with a huge commentary (1937, reprinted with addenda in 1970) remains our main resource for the study of HA. The portions of our interest (unfortunately, without chapters on China and Tibet) were recently translated into German, with various footnotes, by H. GÖCKENJAN and I. ZIMONYI (2001, pp. 191–220). We follow MINORSKY'S text division.
- [3] In the view of our author, the "Turks" comprised not only the Turkic-speaking peoples, but also other Altaic tribes, Tibetans, Slavs, Varangians (*Rūs*) and even Chinese!
- [4] Henceforth, Gdz. Two relatively late Mss are known. The first edition and translation of the chapter in question were published by BARTHOLD (1897, pp. 78–126), the English translation was made by MARTINEZ (1982), the critical edition of the whole text was published by 'Abd al-Hayy HABĪBĪ (1347), and a new German translation of the "Turk" section with commentary was made by GÖCKENJAN and ZIMONYI (2001, pp. 95–190). We follow HABĪBĪ'S pagination.
- [5] See below for the question of underlying authority; the same text was also used (to a much less extent) in MARWAZI's description of Turks and China and in BĒRŪNĪ's Canon (the main portion of both texts has been derived from the Uyğur and Xitay embassy to the Ġaznawide court in 1027, for details, see MINORSKY, 1942); the list of Oriental rulers in the anonymous *Mujmal at-Tawārīx wa-l-Qiṣaṣ* (the latest critical edition by NAJMABADI, WEBER, 2000, 323) represents, probably, extracts from the same tradition. The strange statement that the ruler (*pādšāh*) of Surūd (Sogdiana) is called *Biktigīn* (Turkish, *Bek-tegin*, "rich prince") finds its explanation in Par. 12, 7 of HA: "the villages of *Bek-tegin* (in the country of *Tuyuzaryuz*) consist of five villages belonging to Sogdians". Several lines below, *Mujmal* informs us that the "great ruler (*pādšāh-i buzurg*) of Surūd" is called *ixšīd*, a usual title of Samarqand kings in the Islamic sources.
- [6] Anxi, 安西, also Zhenxi 镇西, "Garrisoned West", as it was officially named between 757 and 767 (thus, in the proposed time of composition), see BECKWITH, 1987, p. 148; CHAVANNES, 1907, p. 534, citing TCTC, 220: 7051, 224: 7197.
- [7] MINORSKY (1937, p. 195) proposed to correct *Tafqān* to *Turfān* (طوقان > طوقان); HAMILTON (1958, p. 144) - to *Tenšan*, i. e. Tianshan, (天山, EMCh tʰen-səin/ʃe:n; طينشان > طينشان >

لفشان

- ; in any case, the eastern Tianshan is intended.
- [8] HAMILTON (1958, p. 122) proposes also a more close reconstruction **siu-tšio*⁹⁶, for tenth-century Northwest dialect, according to LUO CHANGPEI's 罗常培 work.
- [9] Wāw with fatha, Arabic diphthong *aw*, usually stands for long "majhūl" *ō* in the ms of HA.
- [10] Thus, in Pulleyblank; KARLGREN gave **tiang-iäk*, and LUO CHANGPEI - *tsio*⁹⁶-*iag* for tenth-century NW pronunciation (both reconstructions provided by HAMILTON, 1958, p. 129).
- [11] M. MU'ĪN (loc. cit.) gives an etymology of this word. *šor* is "salty" and *bay* is variant for *may* "pond, pit", cf. *mayāk*, Avest. *mayā-*, *mayā-* "id".
- [12] According to KARLGREN, *jiang* was pronounced *kāng*, acc. to LUO CHANGPEI -*kang*. PULLEY-BLANK, however, gives the forms *kaiwŋ/kæ:wŋ*, which are closer to *Ḥiyān*.
- [13] E-mail dated 18.03.2005; see SIMS-WILLIAMS, 2000, for Bactrian development **θr* > *hr* > *wr*.
- [14] I was not able to find any independent data on the typical appearance of Lanzhou people; probably, the words about their attractiveness are nothing more than the consequence of interpretation of the Chinese place-name. As for idol-temples, perhaps, the famous Bingling ("thousand Buddha") Buddhist caves in the neighborhood of Lanzhou are intended?
- [15] It seems correct to mention that, apart from *Vaynšaur*, we have another Iranian (Sogdian) form for rendering Lanzhou, that is *Kimžen* (*kmzyn*) in "Ancient Letter II, 23" (for identification, see HENNING, 1948, p. 610), which stands for *Jincheng* (金城, EMCh *kim-dziaŋ*), a town in the close proximity to Lanzhou. However, dates of the two texts (Ancient Letters and underlying text of HA) vary by more than four centuries (AL II was composed in 312–313), and during this time the name of the town, used by Iranian merchants, could change (similarly, Dunhuang is called in HA **Šajā*, while all the Sogdian material has *šw'n*, Throana). Otherwise, the name-transliteration (*Kimžen*) and the name in Sogdian language (*Vaynšaur*) could have coexisted at one time; cf. *Xānbāliq* (nomadic name) and *Čūngdā* (transcription) for Beijing, mentioned in Rašid ad-Dīn (BARTHOLD, 1997, p. 1020).
- [16] However, the Emperor is said to be Buddhist (*šamanī*); if we believe that our author was able to distinguish between Buddhism, and Daoism or Confucianism (as, e. g., BĒRŪNĪ had a clear distinction between Hinduists and Buddhists, also *šamanīya*), then here, probably, the Emperor DAIZONG (代宗 762–779) is intended, who is known to be a sponsor of Buddhism in China (DALBY, 1979, p. 579).
- [17] I would like to express my gratitude to those who helped the author to write this paper: Nicholas SIMS-WILLIAMS and Ralph KAUZ have already been mentioned above; the latter was very willing to advise me on various Sinological items; Étienne de la VAISSIÈRE (Paris) expressed many useful suggestions; Bettina HOFLEITNER kindly designed the attached two maps. The late Professor Lev Nikolaevich MEN'SHIKOV kindly inspired the author (whose knowledge of Chinese is limited to a dozen characters) to write this paper on Far-Eastern subjects and generously checked the dates proposed here with his un-

published "Chronology of the Tang Dynasty". However, all the shortcomings and erroneous suggestions in this (necessarily, too putative) article are my responsibility.

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New Data on an Early Arab Attack on China

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Before the Arab conquest, Central Asia was a part of the Turkic qaghanate, and it was included in the sphere of influence of the Chinese empire. The history of interrelations and ties between Central Asia and China begins many centuries ago, but their relations were more intensive beginning in the third century BC, with the opening of the Silk Road. At that time the Huns, together with the Parthians, played a major role as mediators in the international trade between the East and the West. Beginning in the second half of the third century AD, however, the influence and penetration of China itself into the Central Asian region intensified. In early medieval times (sixth-eighth centuries AD) there were several semi-independent countries in Central Asia, which recognized the supreme political power of the Turkic *qaghan*, and later the Chinese emperor.

Early contacts between the Arabs and the Chinese took place in the third – fourth centuries AD, when the Arabs controlled the marine trade between Egypt, Persia, India and the Far East. The Arabs maintained numerous colonies along the marine route from Arabia to Canton, the main port in the south of China. Along this way, with the Arab traders, Islam first penetrated into China. In the early seventh century AD, Canton was an important colony of the Arab traders, who formed a great part of the city's population. According to some sources, the first acquaintance of China with Islam took place during the rule of the Chinese emperor K'ai Hwang of the Sui dynasty (581 – 600 AD). The inscription engraved on the stone plate in the mosque Xi'anfu, dated 742 AD, indicates that the first *sa-ha-ba* (*al-ashāb*) came to China and then built the mosque. When the Chinese emperor learned of the appearance of a new prophet in the West, he sent an envoy to Mecca to invite the Prophet Muhammad to visit China. But the Prophet refused, and the envoy secretly made a portrait of him to show the emperor. At the same time, the first Muslims came back

to China with the Chinese envoy and founded their community there. The first Muslim to bring Islam to China was Wan Gesi (Sad Waqqās), who was called an uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, from his mother's line. He founded the first mosque in Canton and eventually was buried inside it.

According to other sources, however, the first Muslims came to China in 628 or 633 AD. There is also another version to the effect that the Arabs came to China by land from the northwest with the Uyghurs and founded the first Muslim colony in the west of China. However it came, by the middle of eighth century AD, the role of the Muslim community in the political life of China was very substantial and strong. So in 747 the famous Turkic commander Ko-shu-han, who confessed Islam and was in the service of the Chinese emperor, was appointed as the ruler of a large province that included a great part of present-day Turkistān. There is a lot of detailed information about the cities of China in the medieval Arabic and Persian textual sources, which also testifies to the important role of Muslims in China.

There is information in the Arabic textual sources about the campaign of Qutayba ibn Muslim to Kūshghar in 96/714–15 and his embassy to "the king of as-Sīn." However, as it comes from the Uyghur version of the work of at-Tabarī, "the king of as-Sīn" in the text does not mean the Chinese emperor, but rather the governor of Khotan, who also conquered the Kūshghar region. Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī (early eleventh century) directly indicated that *bilād as-Sīn* included Kūshghar and some other countries such as at-Tubbat (Tibet), Khotan, the lands behind the Balkh River and neighbouring Turks. Thus, Sīn was the ancient name of the region known as Eastern Turkistān (Xinjiang), and its name in Arabic sources is *bilād as-Sīn*.

In the first half of the eighth century, during the most active military campaigns of the Arabs in Central Asia, China was kept busy by a long and wasting war with Tibet, which continued until 133/750–51 AD. At that time took place the first and only attempt of China to win back Central Asia from the Arabs. In July of that year the Arab commander Ziyād ibn Sālih crushed the Chinese army of thirty thousand troops near the Talas and captured a great number of prisoners. The commander of the Chinese army, Gao Xianzhi, escaped back to China with the remains of his army. After this bloody battle, which continued five days, the Chinese finally gave up their pretensions to Central Asia, whereupon the Arabs became the area's complete masters. Among the Chinese prisoners there were some artisans, makers of paper, who founded a factory for the production of paper in Samarqand. There were five of them, and they were brought to Kūfa, the first capital of the 'Abbāsides, where they stayed for about ten years, coming back to China in 762 by the sea route. It has been supposed that Abū Muslim prepared a military campaign to China in 134/752 –

53, but that he died before he could fulfill that mission. After the Battle of Talas, China had only peaceful trade relations with the Arabic caliphate, especially by the sea routes.

Some hold the opinion that, in the same year as the Talas battle (133/750–51), there was another attack of the Arabs against “the king of China.” However, the text of at-Tabarī, which the author of this opinion has referred to, described not the campaign of the Arabs to China, but the escape of Hanash ibn Sabl, the king of Khuttal, with his *dihqans*, to Farghāna, and from there to the lands of the Turks and the king of China. As to Abu Dāwūd Khālīd ibn Ibrāhīm, he stayed in Khuttal, captured there some of the prisoners, and sent them to Balkh, and from there to Abū Muslim, who was in Marw.

There is information in the Chinese sources about some Arab embassies to the Chinese Yard, the first of them sent in 651 by the caliph ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān. The envoy arrived to the Chinese emperor with gifts and gave him a letter from the Arab caliph, in which he informed the emperor that his family had accepted the throne 34 years previously and had reigned three generations. After that the Arab caliphs regularly sent envoys to China; the last one was Hārūn ar-Rashīd, who sent three envoys at once. Every one of the Arab envoys, about 15 in all, presented gifts to the Chinese emperor—usually thoroughbred horses and jewels. The Chinese government usually did not send its envoys in return to the Arabs, considering the envoys coming to their capital as a sign of respect and submission, and their gifts as tribute. The envoys usually arrived in China with the caravans, and therefore the arrival of a caravan was always considered in China as “an embassy.”

There are no other data on any other contacts of the Arabs with the Chinese in medieval Arabic and Chinese textual sources. But there are in medieval Armenian sources.

There is important information in the historical work of Gevond, the eighth-century Armenian author, in which had been described the campaign of the Arabs to China and their embassy to the Chinese emperor, previously unknown. According to his record, in the reign of the caliph al-Walīd (86–96/705–715), the Arab commander named Mahmet, who earlier had been the governor of Armenia, asked the caliph to give him a great army to take to the country of Tchens (i. e., Chinese) in order to subdue the Chinese emperor. The caliph fulfilled his wish and equipped for him a great army of 200,000. Mahmet left Damascus with the army, passed through Syria, Persia and Khorasan, and arrived at the borders of Tchenastan, i. e., the Chinese empire. Then he made camp on the bank of a great river named Botis, and sent an envoy to the king of Tchens, i. e., the Chinese emperor, with a letter, in which he said: “Why have you alone not submitted to our lord, whose name makes all peoples tremble. What are you hoping for by not resigning

yourself to our power? Maybe you consider us to be girls and imagine yourself more beautiful? Now, if you will not submit to our power as a slave, you should know that we will devastate all of your country and put an end to your reign. Do not be light-hearted and slow in answer, but give us your decision as soon as possible, what you are going to do."

When the Chinese king, named Djenbakur, read the letter, he called for his body-guards and high officials and consulted with them, what kind of answer he should give. They consented to send the following answer: "Is it really that you think that you are the most glorious of all kings, who reigned from beginning of the world up to the present greater than the kings of Babylon, Macedonia and Persia, who subdued the world? Know that you are shameless like a dog! You have only lust and a foul voluptuousness. Hearing about the beauty of our women has forced you to sacrifice yourself and your army that has arrived here with you. It seems that there was no place in Damascus for your graves. You should know that our country has never been subdued by anyone, and I cannot agree to your offers. If you would like gifts, I will give them to you, according to the custom of kings, and then you will go back to your country in peace".

Mahmet sent to Djenbakur a second letter, where he wrote: "Give me thirty thousand beautiful girls, then we will go in peace, and if you will not give them, I will go to you in war." The Chinese king agreed to Mahmet's demand and sent him an envoy to say that he should stay in his camp and wait until the time when his demand will be fulfilled. Meanwhile, he ordered his troops to make chariots covered with fabric, and to put inside of them chosen men armed to the teeth instead of the beautiful girls that Mahmet had demanded. The plan was to trap the enemy in a snare.

They arrived on the bank of the river and camped next to the army of Mahmet. Forty thousand soldiers were fitted inside the chariots. Djenbakur himself stayed with a few riders at some distance and sent a letter to Mahmet: "Come and take the thirty thousand girls you have demanded, which I selected for you from all over my country. You should select the men of your army who have earned them in equal number with the girls, and cross the river with them to our bank. Then I will distribute the girls by lot, a girl to each one. That will prevent quarrelling among your troops." With the letter he sent ships for Mahmet's troops to cross the river to the other bank.

The thirty thousand select troops of Mahmet crossed the river on the ships. When they arrived on the other bank, the Chinese king ordered his riders to attack the troops of Ismailites (i. e., the Arabs). When the battle had begun, suddenly out came the other riders who were hidden inside the chariots. They surrounded the Arabs and killed all of them by sword. None of these could save themselves, even by flight. The tops of the ships were cut, and the troops could not go back to

other bank of the river to save themselves. Only Mahmet with a few of his riders on their horses threw themselves into the river and swam across it, placing their hopes on the strength of their horses. Thus, they were shamed by the Chinese king and went back to their country, and they never dared again to go to war with China.

The same story was also given in a shorter form in the work of another Armenian historian, Stepanos Taronetsi (tenth eleventh centuries), who added that Mahmet, before going in war to China, had been for a long time thinking about the conquest of that country.

These records in Armenian sources convey a great sense of the history of the Arab conquests in Central Asia, and open a new page in the history of the early campaigns of the Arabs in the East. From the data in these sources we know that the first campaign of the Arabs to China was in the reign of the Umayyad caliph al-Walid (86 – 96/705 – 715), by a commander named Mahmet, who had previously been a ruler of Armenia. There are some other records in the same work of Gevond, which allow us to exactly determine the identity of the Arab commander Mahmet. According to his records, in 701 Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (65 – 86/685 – 705) ordered Mahmet to conquer Armenia, then in 703 he suppressed an uprising of the Armenian princes, and in 705 he made a bloody reprisal against them. After that, the newly appointed caliph al-Walid sent him an order to leave Armenia and appointed in his place a person named ‘Abd al-‘Aziz. Then Mahmet asked the caliph to give him troops to go on a campaign to China.

According to the Arab sources, in 73/692 – 93, the brother of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik named Muhammad ibn Marwān ibn al-Hakam had been appointed ruler of Armenia and the northern part (*wilāyat*) of the caliphate, including Ādharbaydjān, al-Djazīra, Mosul and a province (*al-thughūr*) on the borders of Byzantium, and he remained in that same post until 91/709 – 10. All of these events, which were described in the history of Gevond on the activity of Mahmet, exactly correspond with the chronicle of the military-political activity of Muhammad ibn Marwān, as described in Arabic sources. Consequently, we have grounds to affirm that the Arab commander, who undertook a campaign to China in the reign of the caliph al-Walid, was Muhammad ibn Marwān, who was the son of the caliph Marwān I (64 – 65/684 – 685), the brother of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (65 – 86/685 – 705) and the father of the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II (127 – 132/744 – 750).

What is known about Muhammad ibn Marwān from the sources is that, in 65/685, Caliph Marwān I before his death appointed him a ruler of al-Djazīra. In 71/690 – 91 Muhammad ibn Marwān came from al-Djazīra with his troops to help the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik in the battle against

the interior enemies of the Umayyad dynasty'. In 73/692 – 93 'Abd al-Malik appointed him a ruler of Armenia and the northern part of the caliphate. In the same year he went from al-Djazīra to campaign against the Byzantines. In 75/694 – 95 he went again to Byzantium and defeated the Greeks. About 80/699 – 700 Muhammad ibn Marwān organized some campaigns against Armenia. In 82/701 – 02 he was at war with the enemies of the caliph Abd al-Malik in Iraq, and then he fulfilled his punitive campaign to Armenia, and after that finally subdued that country. In the same year he captured the city of Dvin and became the master of the whole country. In 84/703, by the order of the caliph Abd al-Malik, he cruelly suppressed the anti-Arab uprising in Armenia. In 86/705, i. e., in the first year of the reign of the caliph al-Walīd, he went against the joint forces of the Byzantines and Armenians, conquered them and inflicted bloody reprisals on the Armenian princes. After that, the Armenians sent their envoy to the caliph, making complaint of Muhammad ibn Marwān and asking to change the ruler of their country. The caliph answered them, recalled Muhammad ibn Marwān and appointed in his place in Armenia 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Hātim al-Bāhili (86 – 91/705 – 709). As to Muhammad ibn Marwān, he awarded him another high post, that of the supreme ruler of the northern part of the caliphate, including Armenia, until 91/709 – 10, when in his place in this post was appointed the brother of the caliph al-Walīd – Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik (91 – 114/709 – 732). After that, in the Arabic sources, information on the Muhammad ibn Marwān is brought to an end, and in the Armenian sources is given the above-mentioned story on his campaign to China.

It is known that at that time the caliph al-Walīd was inspired by the swift successes of Qutayba ibn Muslim in the East and of Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik in the North, and he cherished some hopes of a conquest of China, which was at that time the only great power still not subdued to the power of the Arabic caliphate. These desires became especially strong in 92/710 – 11, when another Arab commander, Muhammad ibn al-Qāsim as-Saqafi, went by way of the sea to reach the mouth of the Ind and conquered Sind. At that time al-Hadjjādī ibn Yūsuf, the supreme ruler of al-'Irāq, Khurāsān and the whole Eastern part of the caliphate, who was before that in opposition to the Umayyad caliphs, declared that he would appoint as ruler of China one of these two commanders, the first who would reach that country.

It must be supposed that the caliph al-Walīd, who had bad relations with al-Hadjjādī, also for a long time matured the thought of undertaking his own campaign to China, and he may have wanted to take the lead over al-Hadjjādī in the conquest of that country and win appointment as a ruler there in his own person. Probably with this aim in mind for a long time, before the beginning

of the campaign, he suggested this thought to his uncle Muhammad ibn Marwān, who was one of the most reliable of his commanders and had a considerable experience of the war against Byzantium and Armenia. On that matter the following words of the Armenian authors attest: “. . . when Mahmet had instigated plans against the Chinese” and “. . . nourished for a long time in his heart designs on the land of the Chinese.”

Consequently, based on these data, we have grounds for supposing that the campaign of Muhammad ibn Marwān to China was undertaken in 91/709 – 10 or 92/710 – 11, when he had been relieved of his post, being without work to do, he asked the caliph al-Walīd to give him an army for the campaign against China. It is known that in this year the ruler of Khurāsān was Qytayba ibn Muslim, who at that time suppressed the anti-Arab uprisings in Sidjīstān, Tukhāristān and Southern Sughd. Therefore Muhammad ibn Marwān, having the charter of the caliph, could pass through Khurāsān without any difficulty and reach the borders of the Chinese empire.

The second problem, which could be settled by recourse to the Armenian sources, is to determine the locality of the Botis River, on the bank of which took place the battle between the armies of the Arabs and the Chinese. According to data in the Armenian sources, Mahmet left Damascus with his army, passed through Syria, Persia and Khorasan, and reached the borders of Tchenastan, i. e., the Chinese empire. Then he made camp on the bank of a great river named Botis, and from there he sent a letter to the king of Tchens, i. e., the Chinese emperor. It has been supposed that the Botis River must be identified with Jayhūn, i. e., the Amudarya River, or with the Talas River in Chu Valley. However, in the Armenian sources “Tchenastan” or “the country of Tchens” did not mean Central Asia or Western Turkistān, but China proper, and the title *djenbakur* was used only for the Chinese emperor, while Eastern Turkistān was called “the land of Sīn.” The Arabic sources used the term *faghfur* for the Chinese emperor, which was adopted from the Pahlawi word *baghpwr*, which means “a Son of the Heaven.”

In addition, there is direct indication in the work “Sūrat al-ard” (“The Picture of the Earth”) of Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (tenth century), where he mentions that in his time the greatest river of China was named Botis, and this has been identified with the Lower Huanhe in China. The same river was fixed in the map of Ptolemy (second century AD) as Bautisos. Consequently, it is a reality that the Arab army under Muhammad ibn Marwān reached the borders of the Chinese empire and made contact with the Chinese emperor.

Ibn az-Zubair (twelfth century) in his “Kitab adh-dhakhā'ir wa-t-tuhaf” (The Book of Gifts and Presents) described the Chinese emperor as a king whose perfume spreads to about twenty mi-

les or two *farsakhs* and who has a thousand girls in his service. This characteristic corresponds to the words of the Arabs in their letter to the Chinese emperor described in the Armenian sources: "... Maybe you consider us to be girls and imagine yourself more beautiful?"

So the historical data described above allows us to suppose that the information of the Armenian sources on the previously unknown campaign of the Arabs to China, which took place in the early eighth century, probably corresponds to the facts. This opens a new page in the history of the Arab conquest of Central Asia and the East.

Who Was Apa Tarkan during the Reign of the Second Eastern Turkic Kaghanate in Mongolia?

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As is well known, there were many high-ranking official titles, such as Kagan, Yabgu, Shad, Tigin, İltäbär and Tudun, in the Old Turkic Kaghanate which were referred to in the chapters on Old Turkic (突厥 Tujue) tribes in the Chinese chronicles called 周书 Zhoushu 50 and 隋书 Suishu 84. The high-ranking official titles in these texts, such as 可汗(orig. Kaghan), 叶护(orig. Yabgu; Jabgu), 设(orig. Shad), 特勤(orig. Tigin), 俟利发(orig. İltäbär) and 俟斤(orig. Irkin), have been studied and discussed in detail, with attention to every administrative character and basic meaning in the Old Turkic Kaghanate, by Prof. MORI Masao(护雅夫), A. Bombaci, B. Ögel and others (Mori 1967: 227-438; Bombaci 1968/9: 1-66; Bombaci 1974: 167-193; Ögel 1963: 27-42). On the other hand, as far as I know, high-ranking titles such as 吐屯(发)Tudun(par), 屈律啜(orig. Kuli Çor) or 阿波(orig. Apa) seem not to have been analyzed sufficiently until now, nor have 28 other inferior titles in the Old Turkic Kaghanate. At present, we can say only that Kagan, Yabgu, Shad and Tigin were titles that belonged to the royal family of the Ashina clan. It is possible, however, that Kuli Çor or Apa were titles that belonged to the aristocratic peoples of the Turkic tribes under the Ashina clan, on the basis of the description of the Western Turkic tribes given in 通典 TD (vol. 199 突厥下; p. 5453) as follows:

其官有叶护, 设, 特勤, 常以可汗子弟及宗族为之。

We generally refer to two kinds of Chinese sources on the Turkic titles, one of which is recorded in TD (vol. 197 突厥上, p. 5402), as follows:

(可汗)其子弟谓之特勤, 别部领兵者谓之设, 其大官屈律啜, 次阿波, 次颉利发, 次吐屯, 次俟斤。

And the other is in TD (vol. 197, p. 5403), as follows:

其后大官有叶护,次设,次特勤,次俟利发,次吐屯发,及馀小官凡二十八等,皆代袭之。

In consulting both, we become aware that the first description includes high titles such as Shad, Küli Çor and Apa, but the latter does not include high titles such as Küli Çor and Apa. Based on the difference between them, Japanese researcher NAITO Midori (内藤みどり) proposed the hypothesis that the first record reflects the fact that, in the Second Turkic Kaghhanate of Mongolia, there were administrative titles that resembled these, which can also be confirmed in lines 13 – 15 on the south side of Bilgä Kaghhan inscription. On the other hand, the latter is based on the general explanation of the Turkic high titles accepted since Zhoushu or Suishu, although this can reflect only the status of the high titles of the First Turkic Kaghhanate. If Naito's hypothesis is right, the title Apa can be understood as a simplified form of the title Apa Tarkan. Furthermore, according to the first record of TD, we can say that Küli Çor is a lower title than Shad, and higher than Apa Tarkan at that time.

In this paper, I try to clarify who held the title Apa Tarkan during the reigns of the Second Eastern Turkic Kaghhanate, as a preliminary to further research on high-ranking titles of the Old Turkic Kaghhanate.

1. Who was Apa Tarkan during the reign of Kutlug, İltäris Kagan?

On this question, let us examine some passages from Old Chinese and Old Turkic sources referring to "Apa Tarkan", who can be regarded as one of the highest-ranking officials among the Tarkans in the Second Eastern Turkic Kaghhanate. First, I would like to cite the record describing Kutlug's rebellion against the Tang dynasty. Kutlug attacked and raided Jiou shiang (i. e., the Nine Tribes), carrying off many sheep and horses, and his power thus grew stronger and stronger, until he ascended to become kagan himself. Subsequently, as we read in the following records:

Text (A): 通典 TD 198, Tujue 突厥上, p. 5434:

至阿史德元珍,习中国风俗,知边塞虚实,在单于检校降户部落,尝坐事为单于长史王本立所繫。会骨咄禄入寇,元珍请依旧检校降部落,本立许之,因而便投骨咄禄。骨咄禄得之,甚喜,立为阿波大达干,令專统兵马事

Translation:

On Ashite Yuanchin: he knows Chinese customs well and was well informed about the situation near the border; he had had the experience that, in the territory controlled by the chief of the tribes, he raised a rebellion and was taken into custody by Chang shi Wang Benli. As it happened, Kutlug then invaded China. Yuanchin wanted Wang Benli to come back to the tribes that

he had led before, and Wangli permitted him to. He immediately took part, joining Kutlug's side. He [Kutlug] appointed Yuanchin to be Abo da ta gan [= OT Apa Ulug Tarkan] and assigned him especially to govern the military and war-horses.

This record can be assumed to be part of the story of how Kutlug achieved his victory over Toguz Oguz in the regions north of the Gobi Desert, that is, in Mongolia in 687–688 A. D. What this reminds us of is, first, that the title, as is well known, was one borne by Bilg Toyukuk as a counselor of the 骨咄祿 (Kutlug), İltäriş, Kaghan, who was the founder of the Second Eastern Turkic Kaghanate. Tonyukuk in the Old Turkic inscription is recorded as 噶欲谷 (Tonyukuk), and can also be identified as 阿史德元珍 (Ashite Yuanchin) by comparative research both philologically and historically in several Chinese sources of the Tang dynasty and Old Turkic texts, as first Prof. Klyashtornyj suggested and later Prof. MORI proved conclusively (Klyashtornyj-1964: 27–31; Mori 1992: 86–97). On the basis of this identification, we know that Ashite Yuanchin (= Tonyukuk) already had the high title of 阿波大达干 (Apa Ulug Tarkan) at the enthronement of the Kutlug, who had ascended the throne as İltäriş, Kaghan. In Old Chinese sources, we cannot find any other record that corresponds to this title; however, in the Old Turkic text called the Küli Çor inscription, which may have been made in the 720's, during the reign of Bilgä Kagan (716–734), we find this title, as NAITO cited and analyzed it. Now let us cite this passage and examine it:

Text (B): Küli Çor inscription, (W1)-(W3) (cf. Hayashi and Osawa 1999: 151–153; Berta 2004: 5, 11, 18):

(W1) [alpın ärdämin] üçün apa [atıg] çıkan tonyukuk atıg bermiş // (W2) tduqda yügdürmis, ısbara çıkan küli çor bolmış çabış atı alup küli çor tonyukuk // (W3) [bilgä] qagan elindä kätıp ädgü bängi kördi ulug küli çor säkiz on yaşap yok bol[dı]

Translation:

(W1) //Because of [his bravery and manliness], (Kagan?) is said to have given [him] the title of Apa, Çıkan Tonyukuk. // (W2) //When // * * * * ed, [Kagan?] is said to have promoted him. He became ısbara Çıkan Küli Çor. After receiving the title of çabış, Küli Çor Tonyukuk // (W3) In his realm of (Bilgä) Kaghan, he (= Küli Çor) grew old and experienced great joy. The old Küli Çor died at the age of eighty.

First, we note that this transcription and interpretation are original, on the basis of investiga-

tions of a new rubbing, the result of the joint research on the Old Turkic inscription undertaken by Japanese and Mongolian scientific academies during the years 1996 – 1998 in Mongolia. We attend especially carefully to the new transcription of the word [atig'] in the first line and [bilgä] in the third line of the inscription on the western side. The first was read by another researcher as being the same as the interpretation of Kotwicz and Clauson. But I cannot agree to this earlier reading as a result of our new rubbing. On the latter word bilgä', this reading may be right for the reason that, in this inscription, a special runic letter for front b' is always indicated by writing a dot sign inside the [b] letter, and its mark also can be recognized in the identical place in the problematic letter, so we cannot read it [İltäriş] Kagan, as was suggested by Kotwicz and Samoylovitch (1928: 102) or [Kapgan] Kaghan', as was suggested by Clauson and Tryjarski (1971: 14). (In this, a young colleague Dr. SUZUKI Kosetsu of Osaka University suggested to me, and I want to express my deep gratitude to him here.) This new proposition was confirmed by my research (performed in July 2005 in the Institute of Oriental Studies of St. Petersburg) on this part of the rubbing taken by W. Kotwicz in 1912.

Now we can consider this text. First, part of (W1) can generally be admitted to be the beginning line of the Küli Çor inscription, so it can generally be recognized as the line that includes the earliest contents, taking place before incidents during the reign of 'Bilgä' Kaghan that was referred to in the line (W3). From this, we can conclude that incidents of (W1) and (W2) can be identified as ones taking place during the reign of İltäriş Kaghan or Kapgan Kaghan in the Second Eastern Turkic Kaghanate. But as we see in the Chinese sources, we do not find a reference to the fact that Küli çor had borne the title of Apa Tarqan before Kutlug's enthronement as İltäriş Kaghan in 688 AD. Furthermore, the title that Küli Çor bore was that of Apa, not Apa Tarkan.

As for [Apa], although it has the original meaning of elder sister; ancestors, female relatives elder than himself, elder sister (Gabain 1974: 320) or mother; father (DTS: 47) and an elder among the tribe (DTS: 1; Rui 1998: 262, note 67) etc., it seems that it also has the meaning of ancestor, from instances like apam açım or açımız apamız as hendiadys, which is confirmed in Old Turkic inscriptions. So Apa Tarkan can be regarded as the most respectful title among the Old Turkic people, as it alludes to their ancestors, that is, one of the highest-ranking titles, as noted by R. Giraud (1960: 78). But it is not known whether Apa could have been an abbreviated form of Apa Tarkan at that time. So it is difficult to regard Ulug K üli Çor, who bore the title Apa and Çıkan Tonyukuk in (W1) to (W3) of the Kü li Çor inscription as Tonyukuk, Ashite Yuanchin. From this, we can say that the first who bore the title Apa Tarkan was Tonyukuk, Ashite Yuanchin at

the enthronement. At present, although this Ulug Küli Çor bore the titles 'Apa' and 'Çıkan Tonyukuk', we cannot say that he was Apa Tarkan, nor that he was himself Tonyukuk, Ashite Yuanchin. However, sikan 'meant originally the son of one's maternal aunt, that is cousin' (ED, 409 a), so we can assume that Küli Çor's mother and Kutlug or Kapgan's mother were sisters of the Ashite clan, which generally formed marriages with the Ashina clan, as suggested in Naito 1998 (pp. 14 - 16). So Küli Çor was a cousin on the maternal side to Kutlug or Kapgan, İltäris Kagan, whose wives might have been of the Ashite clan. From this we can say that Küli Çor may be of the Ashite clan. If this is admitted, Küli Çor may have been related to Yuanchin of the Ashite clan, who married his daughter to the first son of İltäris Kagan, 默棘连 Mojilian, later Bilgä Kagan.

Until now we have been unable to confirm Apa Tarkan as Tonyukuk, Ashite Yuanchin's title. With regard to this problem, we can refer to the following passage:

Text (C): 资治通鉴 (ZZTJ) 卷 206, 则天后神功元年 (697 年), p. 6515.

默啜因 (田) 归道, 将杀之, 归道辞色不挠, 责其无厌, 为陈祸福, 阿波达干元珍曰: "大国使者, 不可杀也。"

Translation:

When Mochuo (= Kapgan Kagan) took Diankidao [an ambassador of the Tang dynasty] prisoner, Mochuo was going to kill him, [omission]. Apa Tarkan Yuanchin said to him, "You should not murder the ambassador of the great country."

This record tells us that Yuanchin of the Ashite clan had been Apa Tarkan at least until 697 A. D. during the reign of Kapgan Kagan. Thus, we can assume that it was Tonyukuk, Yuanchin of the Ashite, who was appointed to be Apa (Ulug) Tarkan in 688 when Kutlug began to raise a rebellion against the Tang dynasty, and until at least 697, when Kapgan Kagan ruled the Turkic Kaganate as the second Turkic kagan, after the death of his elder brother Kutlug, İltäris Kagan. In this passage we note carefully his important role, as he advised Kapgan Kagan not to kill the Chinese ambassador according to the diplomatic custom at that time.

II. Who was Apa Tarkan during the reign of Mochuo, Kapgan Kagan?

As discussed in the first section of this paper, during the early reign of Kapgan Kagan, Ashite Yuanchin held the title Apa Tarkan. After consulting a Turkic inscription, however, we cannot help but conclude that Tonyukuk did not have the title Apa Tarkan. The relevant text follows:

Text (D): Tonyukuk inscription, lines 34 - 35 (Tekin 1994: 14 - 15).

bög(ü) kagan bangaru ança ayıdmıs. apa tarqangaru içrä sab ıdmıs. "bilgä tonyukuk anyığ

öl öz ol anglar. sū yorī līm' tidāci unamang".

(Translation)

It is said that sly kagan spoke to me (Tonyukuk) as mentioned above. [But] to *Apa Tarkan* he sent a secret message (as follows): "Counselor [orig. means 'wise'] Tonyukuk is not a bad [person] for our purpose; he is a very independent person, and he can understand the situation. Let us go ahead to campaign, he will say. Don't agree with him".

This is a record of the campaign to the Türgish Kaganate in 710 AD. From this source, unfortunately, we cannot decide at present who then bore the title *Apa Tarkan*. At the time Tonyukuk bore the title *Bilgä*, that is, 'Counselor'. As MORI stated, during the last years of *Kapgan Kagan*, Tonyukuk had been removed from the court because he was so brave and wise that he insisted on enforcing *Kapgan Kagan's* policy by his own will. In the last reign of *Kapgan Kagan*, the Chinese record tells us as follows:

Formerly, almost all high-officials of *Mochuo's* government were killed by *Queteqin* (Köl Ti-gin); however, Tonyukuk had one of his daughters marry into the *Shaosha* [literally, little *Şad*, later *Bilgä Kagan*], and thus Tonyukuk managed to avoid being killed, and to go back to his own tribes. When he was called to serve the court again, he was already more than seventy years old. The barbarian peoples served him with awe and respect. (TD Tujue 198, p. 5439)

From this, we know that Tonyukuk was called to serve the court again. And he was appointed *Boyla Baga Tarkan* when *Bilgä Kagan* ascended the throne in 716, as we see in the following section. So we can say that *Ashite Yuanchin*, Tonyukuk, was dismissed from the post of *Apa Tarkan* in the period from 597 to 710 of the early reign of *Kapgan Kagan*, and from then until *Bilgä Kagan's* enthronement, another person, who might have been a member of *Kapgan's* family or a kinsman of the royal family of the *Ashina* or *Ashite* clans, was appointed *Apa Tarkan*.

III. Who was *Apa Tarkan* during the reign of *Bilgä Kagan*?

Now let us consider the identity of the *Apa Tarkan* during the reign of *Bilgä Kagan*. In this relation, we can cite the text that refers to *Bilgä Kagan's* enthronement, in the inscription on the south side of the *Bilgä Kagan* monument, as follows:

Text (E): *Bilgä Kagan*, lines 13 – 15 of the inscription on the south side. [Tekin 1988: 54–55].

(S13) tängri tög tängri yar[at] mış türük bilge [kagan] sabim kangim; türük bilge kagan olurtukinta türük amti bağler kisre tardus bağler kül çor başlayu ulayu çadapit begler öngre tölis bağler *apa tark*[an] (S14) başlayu ulayu şadapit bağler bu [(sabımın tükati aşid?) (biriya?)]

taman tarkan tunyukuk buyla бага тarkan уlayu buyruk [yiriya?] iç buyruk sebig kül erkiz başlayu ulayu buyruk bunca amti begler kangim kaganka erting [///broken place///] (S15) ertingü timag kälti ... türük beglerim bodunin ertingü timag itdi ögd[i (kangım?) k] agan [üçün] ağır taşıg yogan ig türük begler bodun itip yaratıp kelürti özüme bunça [/// broken place///]

(Translation)

My words of Tängrilike Türük Bilgä Kagan, whom Tängri has created, were as follows: When my father, Türük Bilgä Kagan had ascended the throne, Türük bāgs who are now here! In the West, Tardus bāgs from Küli Çor on down, and then Şadapit bāgs, in the East Tölis bāgs from Apa Tarkan on down, and then Şadapit bāgs [Listen carefully to my words! In the South], Taman Tarkan, Tonyukuk Buyla Baga Tarkan, and then high officials, in the North inner high-ranking officials from Sebig Köl Erkiz on down, and then high-ranking officials, all bāgs mentioned above applauded and admired my father Kagan, and they applauded and admired him. For [my father? K] agan, Türük bāgs and the peoples arranged, worked and brought heavy stones and thick woods. [They served?] myself as above-mentioned.

From this, we can consider that, according to the second son of Bilg Kagan Tängri Kagan, these were the words of his father's speech to participants in the enthronement ceremony. Above all, as is generally admitted, this scene can be compared with BilgäKagan's speech at his enthronement, in lines 1 - 10 of the inscription on the south side of Köl Tigin inscription, as follows:

Text (F): Köl Tigin lines 1 - 10 of the inscription on the south side (Tekin 1988: 2 - 5).

[S1] Tängritäg tängridä bolmıs türük bilgä bu ödkä olurtum sabımın tükäti aşidgil ulayır iniyügüntüm oğlanım, biriki oğuşum, bodunum biriyä şadpıt bāgler, yiriya tarkat buyruk bāgler otuz [tatar ? //] [S2] tokuz oguz bāgler bodunı bu sabımın ädgüti aşid katig tinglä [following part is omitted... [S9]...] kagan olurup [S10] yok çigay bodunug kop kubratdım çigay bodunug bay kältim az bodunug üküş kältim azu bu sabımda igid bar gu türük bāgler bodun bunı aşiding

(Translation)

[S1] Turkic Bilgä Kagan, who was Tängrilike, born in Heaven, now ascends the throne. Listen well to my words. First, my younger brothers and sons, my clan and my peoples that are all united. In the south, Bāgs of Shads, in the north, Tarkans, and Bāgs of Buyruk, Tatar of 30 tribes, // [S2] Bāgs and the peoples of Tokuz Oguz bāg, listen to my words such as this well, and listen to them surely! [Omitted... (S9)...] Having become Kagan [S10], I gathered all the poor and diminished peoples, and I made the poor people rich, and I made the few

people many. Or are there lies in my words? Turkic bāgs, please listen to this!

It is common among researchers to consider that Text E and Text F are descriptions related to the Bilgä Kagan's enthronement ceremony in 716 A. D. However, there seems to be a difference between their writing style and that of others, as follows:

1. In Text E, there are proper names of high-ranking officials such as Küli Çor, Tonyukuk and Sebig Kül Erkiz (maybe the error of Erkin), but in Text F, there are no such names.

2. In Text F, there are words related to Bilgä Kagan's family, such as younger brothers (iniyüüntüm) and sons (oglan) of Bilgä Kagan, but in Text E, there are no such descriptions.

3. On the order of the positions where high-ranking people under Bilgä Kagan stand in the court, there is a difference between the texts; in Text E, there is the beginning of a writing from the west side of the court, and it then continues to the east side of the court. But in Text F, there are descriptions of the high-ranking people positioned in the south, and after that are shown the high-ranking people positioned to the north.

On the third point, as KATAYAMA Akio proposed regarding this difference, this can be interpreted as indicating that the content of Text F reflects the early stage of the ceremony, and that of Text E can be interpreted as the scene of the enthronement ceremony, rearranged after the first stage. But how can we best explain the two different versions? As far as I can analyze the matter now, it must be that the family names of Text F can be seen as the individual proper names of the high-ranking officials of Text E. Then, according to this view, we can consider the identity of Apa Tarkan at the time of the enthronement of Bilgä Kagan. From Text E we know that, at Bilgä Kagan's enthronement in 716 A. D., Tonyukuk had the title of Buyla Baga Tarkan, not Apa Tarkan. So we should look for someone who had the title of Apa Tarkan. Is it possible to find the man among the persons of Text F? As a clue for solving this question, I can point to two runic inscriptions on the west side of Köl Tigin, which seem to have been inscribed after the other parts of the runic inscription were carved. The two inscriptions undoubtedly were written after the events of the Sogdiana Campaign of 710 A. D., at line 40 on the east side of Köl Tigin. My investigation of this inscription in 1996 and 1997 in Mongolia reveals that these parts are inscribed at the beginning of the ruled lines for and parallel to the Chinese inscription and along the ruled line on the west side, and are written with small runic characters different from the others, under the Chinese inscription that was written with five Chinese characters meaning the late Köl Tigin and "the Emperor's writing", as follows:

Text (G): lines 1 – 2 of the inscription on the west side of Köl Tigin [Tekin 1988: 24 –

25].

(W1) Kurıdın [s]ogud örti; inim köl tigin [.....] işig. küçüg birtük üçün türük bilgä kagan : anlarka : inim kül tiginig küzedü olurt[um]

(W2) inençü apa yargan tarkan atıg [bi]rtim; [an]ı ögürt[üm].

(Translation)

(W1) To the West, the Sogdian people raised a rebellion [against us]. My younger brother, Köl Tigin., because Köl Tigin served me, giving all his strength, I, Türük Bilgä Kagan ascended the throne, making them protect my younger brother Köl Tigin.

(W2) I gave him the title of *Inençu Apa Yargan Tarqan*, and I made them applaud him.

First, this inscription consisted of two lines under the Chinese titles 御製御书 on the west side, for which there are different transliterations and transcriptions among Turcologists (such as Thomsen 2002: 174 – 175; Radloff 1897: 156; Radloff and Melioranskij 1897: 44; Orkun 1986: 55; Tekin 1988: 24 – 25; ONOGAWA 1943: 67; Cen 1958: 887; Gabain 1974: 281; Rui 1998: 228, 262 n. 67, etc.). However, as far as I have learned from my investigations, there is nothing to be relied upon completely until now. Then I analyzed this section using both records and old rubbings (in *Fin-Atlas*: 9, Tab. 13 – 16, and *Atlas*: XVI) and new rubbings and some photographs that I took when I visited in 1996 and 1997 as a member of the joint research team of Japan and Mongolia. Until all the runic parts on every side have been shown to be inscribed by Yollug Tigin himself, however, we can posit that these might have been inscribed by some other person, because the letter [kü], or [ük], including the round vocal, which normally is used only with the front [k] letter, is used at the beginning of Köl Tigin, (cf. Cengiz 2003). And in my view, as for the content of this part, it appears to correspond to the Sogdiana campaign of 711 A. D.; however, the Sogdian rebellion mentioned in this sentence is likely to have belonged to the reign of Bilgä Kagan, so it is possible that it might relate to a rebellion in the regions of the Sogdian colonies of Central Asia or China under the Tang dynasty, after 716, when Bilgä Kagan ascended the throne.

In any case, from this we know that, at the enthronement of Bilgä Kagan, he gave the title of *Inençu Apa Yargan Tarqan* to his younger brother, Köl Tigin. Therefore, we can assume that the *Apa Tarkan* referred to in Text E was Köl Tigin, who was referred to as “one of my younger brothers (*iniyügün*)” in Text F, and thus we can answer the question of why there is no mention of the name of Köl Tigin when we first read Text E and Text F, related to Bilgä Kagan’s enthronement, although K öl Tigin was a brave warrior and contributed to the enthronement of his elder brother

Bilgä Kagan by destroying his political rivals, Īnäl Kagan, other sons and brothers of Kapgan Kagan's family, and his close relatives. We can judge from this that Apa Tarkan of Text E may be the omitted version of his formal title Īnençü (Īnançü) Apa Yargan Tarkan, of the second line of the inscription on the west side, Text G.

As for the function of the Apa Tarkan, we can cite the following phrase on Ashite Yuanchin in 通典 TD 198, Tujue 突厥上 (Text A), p. 5434:

骨咄禄得之, 甚喜, 立为阿波大达干, 令専统兵马事。

From the Tonyukuk inscription (Text C), we learn that Apa Tarkan was always in the forefront of any military campaign, leading the army. This is supported by another Chinese record, [新唐书 Xin Tang shu 卷217 回鹘(Uighur)下], p. 6139, as follows:

道宗等径破擊延陀餘众阿波达干, 斩首千餘级, 逐北二百里。

Translation: Daozong [Jiang jia wang of the Tang dynasty] and others attacked the Abo Tagan [= Apa Tarkan], [who led] the remains of the Yantuo tribe across the [Gobi] desert, killed more than a thousand people, and then pursued the survivors to the distance of 200 li to the north.

Although this record relates to the Yantuo tribe after the middle period of the seventh century, after the Turkic tribes had begun to be ruled by the Tang Dynasty, we can see that the Apa Tarkan who led the Yantuo people was regarded as a military leader in the war. So we can deduce that Apa Tarkan was the highest ranking officer in the Turkic tribes, that is, commander-in-chief, as Liu Maocai (刘茂才) has suggested (Liu Maocai: 159, 594 n. 841). So this title could be given to one of the superior military officers capable of leading the military and the war-horses of the country. Köl Tigin was respected by the Turkic people, as remarked in the additional inscription (W1). As for the title of Köl Tigin at Bilgä's enthronement, it is recorded in 新唐书 Xin Tang Shu 215 (p. 6051), 旧唐书 Jiu Tang Shu, 卷194 (p. 5173) and 通典 TD 卷198, 突厥 Tujue, p. 5439, etc., as follows:

昆伽以开元四年(716年)即位, 本蕃号为小杀。性仁友, 自以得国是阙特勤之功, 固讓之, 阙特勤不受, 遂以为左贤王, 专掌兵马。

(Translation) According to the Chinese records of... after the coup d'état of 716 by Köl Tigin, Köl Tigin was appointed to be 左贤王 Zuoxianwang, considered to be the highest administrative and military officer of the eastern regions since the Xiongnu period, that is, Tölis Shad of the Turkic Kaghanate, and he had the right to control the country's military and war-horses.

However, this description in TD seems problematic, in that Köl Tigin won the title of Īnançü

Apa Yargan Tarkan, according to the description on the west side of Köl Tigin inscription, as discussed above. As far as I know at present, however, there is no evidence to support the Chinese record that Köl Tigin was Tö lis Shad. On the contrary, I can point out two Turkic inscriptions that support my view, as follows:

Text (H): Lines 25—26 of the inscription on the eastern side of Köl Tigin [Tekin 1988: 14—15].

(E25) [omission] . Torlük bodunug atı küsi yok bolmazun tiyin kangım kaganıg ögüm katunug köttürmiş tängri il birigme tängri türük bodun atı küsi yok bolmazun [tiyin; özlümin ol tängri]

(E26) kagan olurtı erinç... [omission].....

inim köl tigin birle sö zlesdimiz kangı mız e imiz kazganm s bodun atı küsi yok bolmazun (27) tiyin türük bodun üçün tün ud? madım küntüz olurmad [ım] inim köl tigin birle eki çad birle ölü yitü kazganım.

(Translation)

(E25) ...To preserve the fame and honor of the Turkic peoples, Tängri-God that brought up my father Kagan and my mother Katun, Tängri-God that made the country united, to preserve the fame and honor of the Turkic peoples, caused me myself to ascend the throne as (E26) Kagan undoubtedly. I [Bilgä Kagan] and my younger brother, Köl Tigin, agreed with each other. In order not to lose the fame and honor of the peoples that my father and uncle had gained, I neither slept at night nor sat down in the daytime. I started working as though I were about to die, and came down together with my younger brother Köl Tigin and two Shads.

Text (I): lines 10—11 of the inscription on the north side of Köl Tigin. (Tekin 1988: 22—23).

(10) [.. omission..]... inim k öl tigin kergek boldı sakı nt ım [omission] (11) ança sak nt m k zde yas kelser tıda könglte sıgıt kelser yanturu sakı ntım katı gdi sakınt ım eki sad ulayu iniyig üntüm oğlanım beglerim bodunum közi kaş yablak bolta çi tip sak ınt ım.....

(Translation)

(10)... [omission]... My younger brother Köl Tigin died... [omission]... (11) Thus I was sad. Although my eyes were going to weep, I held back my tears. When I was going to cry in my heart, I stood, and I held his funeral service. I was in mourning in my heart. Everyone from the two Shads on down, my younger brothers, my sons, bāgs and all my peoples of the Kaghanate, all wept so much, I thought their eyes and their eyebrows would become bad.....

From this description, which indicates that two other people held the title Shad, we can con-

clude that, when Bilgä Kagan ascended the throne in 716 A. D. , Köl Tigin did not receive the title Shad. So we can conclude that Köl Tigin had the title İnänçü Apa Yargan Tarkan, not Tölis Shad as recorded in Chinese sources. To understand the Chinese description of his title, let us consider how the attendants on Bilgä Kagan's enthronement were arranged in Text E. We note that they were as follows: (S13) In the west, Tardus Bägs, from Küli Çor on down, and Shadap t Bägs, in the east, Tölis Bägs, (S14) from Apa Tarkan on down, and Bägs of Shadap it.

From the positioning of the attendants in this ceremony, we can say that the Apa Tarkan, who can be attested to be Köl Tigin, was counted in the first list of Tölis Bägs, as Küli Çor was in the same list of Tardus Bägs. We can see at a glance that it is likely that Küli Çor was Tardus Shad, and Apa Tarkan (Köl Tigin) was Tölis Shad. In my view, this is why the Chinese sources recorded that Köl Tigin was Tölis Shad, who can be counted as the highest military officer of the Turkic Kaghanate. And this information may have reached the court of the Tang dynasty through its ambassadors.

As became clear in my examination of the documents above, Küli Çor and Köl Tigin were not described as Shads by the Old Turkic inscriptions.

Conclusion

In my opinion, the Apa Tarkan seems to have been one of the highest ranking among the Tarkans, managing all of the military power of the Turkic country, and furthermore, the title could be given to a member of the royal families of the Ashina clan such as Köl Tigin, who was a younger brother of Bilgä Kagan, or to the closest relatives, such as Yuanchin, Tonyukuk of the Ashite clan. These could be considered to be the most superior in the military field and counted as the most reliable partisans of the Turkic Kagan. Other interesting problems, such as the question of who became Apa Tarkan after the dismissal of Yuanchin, Tonyukuk, in the latter reign of Kapgan Kagan, or who became Apa Tarkan after the death of Köl Tigin, will be considered in the future.

Abbreviations

ATIM = Radloff, W. *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*. 1. Lieferung. St. Petersburg. 1894.

Atlas = Radloff, W. *Atlas Drevnostej Mongolii*. Trudy Orxonskoj Ekspedicii. (*Atlas der Al-*

terth mer der Mongolei.) Arbeiten der Orchon-Expedition. 1. Lieferung. St. Petersburg. 1892.

DTS = Nadelyaev, V. M. , ed. *Drevnetürskii Slovar*. Leningrad. 1969.

ED = Clauson, G. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford. 1972.

ETY = Orkun, H. N. *Eski Türk Yazıtlar*. İstanbul. Vol I, 1936; vol. II, 1938; vol. III, 1940. Repr. ed. Ankara, 1987.

Fin-Atlas = Heikel, A. , ed. *Inscription de L' Orkhon, recueillies par l' expédition finnoise* 1890. Helsingfors; Société finno-ougrienne, 1892.

OT = Old Turkic

TD = *Tong Dian* (Comprehensive History of Regulations), 200 *juan*, by Du You (735 – 812). 5 vols. , Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988.

ZZTJ = *Zi zhi tong jian* (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government), 294 *juan*, by Sima Guang (1019 – 1086) and others, presented to the throne in 1084. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956.

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蒙古与高丽的战争

乌云高娃

成吉思汗统一蒙古各部,建立强大的蒙古汗国之后,成吉思汗和他的继承者发动了征西域、攻打金朝、讨伐南宋等大规模的对外征服战争。1218年成吉思汗以讨灭高丽境内的契丹叛部为理由派兵侵入高丽,蒙古与高丽达成“兄弟”之盟约,高丽答应每年向蒙古纳贡。后因1225年蒙古使者着古与被杀,蒙古与高丽断交。继成吉思汗之后,窝阔台、贵由、蒙哥合汗先后派兵侵入高丽,自1231年(蒙古太宗三年,高丽高宗十八年)至1259年间,蒙古对高丽发动了多达七次的征服战争。蒙古的征服战争及高丽的单方面向蒙古纳贡,给高丽人民带来了沉重的灾难与负担。

一 成吉思汗讨灭契丹叛众

1218年成吉思汗派哈真、札剌领兵侵入高丽,讨伐人居高丽江东城的契丹叛部。《元史》记载:“太祖十三年,契丹六哥据高丽江东城,命哈真、札剌率师平之”^[1]。成吉思汗此次派兵侵入高丽,一方面想收复辽东地区耶律留哥的契丹部众和叛离蒙古的蒲鲜万奴的东夏国,以巩固蒙古在辽东的统治势力;另一方面借此机会让高丽“称臣纳贡”,以便切断金朝与高丽的关系、为彻底讨灭金朝打下基础。

1211年(蒙古太祖六年,高丽熙宗七年),成吉思汗开始南下讨伐金朝。者别率领的蒙古先锋军、皇子术赤、察合台、窝阔台指挥的蒙古西路军、成吉思汗和幼子拖雷统率的蒙古东路军先后攻下金朝的乌月营、云内、东胜、武州、朔州、德兴府等诸城,在野狐岭和宣平之会河川大败金兵^[2]。继而于1213年(蒙古太祖八年,高丽康宗二年)入居庸关,1214年三月(蒙古太祖九年,高丽高宗元年)金宣宗纳贡求和,将卫绍王允济之女歧国公主献给成吉思汗,蒙古兵撤出居庸关。同年五月金宣宗从中都南迁到汴京,成吉思汗知道此事后,认为讲和之后又迁都,分明是对蒙古有戒心,遂派叛金降附蒙古的乣军和契丹人石抹明安合兵攻打中都,于1215年(蒙古太祖十年,高丽高宗二年)攻下中都。

1214年成吉思汗又派木华黎率领另一路蒙古军东征辽东。辽东地区属于金朝东部领域,是女真的发源地,也是金王朝与高丽王国通好的门户,大批契丹降民亦世居于此。当蒙古南下征金并东袭辽东之际,金王朝加强了对辽东地区的控制。金王朝在极力阻止蒙古军队东进的同时,特别提防契丹部众的反叛^[3]。但是金朝并未能防止契丹部众的反叛,1212年(蒙古太祖七年,高丽康宗元年),金朝北边千户契丹人耶律留哥率众降附成吉思汗。耶律留哥“众至十余万,威震辽东”^[4],在辽东的势力很大,他的反叛对金朝来讲是个沉重的打击,很大程度上削弱了金朝在辽东的势力。金朝政府为了剿灭耶律留哥的契丹部众,多次派兵到辽东,但耶律留哥得到蒙古军的支持,因此,金兵每次都被耶律留哥所打败。1214年金朝又命辽东宣抚蒲鲜万奴率重兵攻打耶律留哥,但蒲鲜万奴的大军又被耶律留哥打败。蒲鲜万奴怕金朝政府怪罪他,亦率众反叛金朝,于1215年十月“居辽东,僭称天王,国号大真,改元天泰”^[5]。金朝此次派兵不但未能消灭耶律留哥的部众,反而使蒲鲜万奴自立为王、割据辽东。耶律留哥降附蒙古,继而蒲鲜万奴也举起独立大旗,这对金朝来讲更是雪上加霜,金朝在辽东的势力日渐衰弱。1216年(蒙古太祖十一年,高丽高宗三年)木华黎攻打辽西地区诸城,攻入东京(今辽阳)之时,蒲鲜万奴“以其子帖哥入侍”^[6]降附蒙古。但是,当木华黎撤出辽东半岛之时,蒲鲜万奴“既而复叛,僭称东夏”^[7],后来,于1217年跑到豆满江下游建立了东夏国。

在蒲鲜万奴叛离蒙古的同时,耶律留哥的契丹部众也背叛了蒙古。东夏国和契丹部众的叛离证明蒙古在辽东的统治并不稳定,这与蒙古在辽东地区并未采取积极的经营措施有关。木华黎征服辽东之后,蒙古没有对辽东地区进行直接控制,而是让叛金降附蒙古的契丹人耶律留哥留守辽东抵抗金兵。1215年耶律留哥的部下劝他称帝,他并未答应。他的部下趁耶律留哥赴成吉思汗处纳贡之际,反叛蒙古自立辽国,杀死了成吉思汗所派前来索取人质的三百名蒙古兵。无奈耶律留哥只身投到成吉思汗帐下,以其子薛阁为质子。成吉思汗夸奖了耶律留哥对蒙古的忠心,并表示支援兵力帮助耶律留哥收复叛离的部众。

1216年耶律留哥部众“推耶厮不僭帝号于澄州,国号辽,改元天威”^[8]。耶厮不称帝七十多日,就被部下所杀。之后乞奴监国。成吉思汗发兵辽东,支援耶律留哥剿灭契丹叛部。乞奴等遭到耶律留哥和蒙古兵的打击之后,率九万余众逃入高丽,从此在高丽进行大肆抄略。契丹叛众逃入高丽之后不久,内部引起权利之争,乞奴被金山所杀,后来金山又被统古与所杀,统古与又被喊舍所杀,最后领导权由喊舍所掌握。由于契丹叛众在高丽到处进行抢夺杀人,激起高丽人民的极度愤恨,1217年(蒙古太祖十二年,高丽高宗四年)高丽西北部元帅赵冲、兵马使金就砺对契丹部众进行了多次的追剿,但是高丽兵马并未能够讨灭契丹叛众,喊舍等后来占据了高丽的江东城。

1218年成吉思汗派哈真、札剌领兵侵入高丽,讨伐入居高丽江东城的契丹叛众,耶律留

哥也随行出征。哈真、札剌二将先讨伐了东夏国,使蒲鲜万奴归附蒙古,并让东夏国助兵一起讨灭契丹叛众。蒙古和东夏的联合军从高丽咸镜道向高丽东北面进军,攻下和州、孟州、顺州、德州等城,12月到达江东城,高丽洪大宣迎降,高丽王曦奉牛酒,出迎王师^[9]。到达江东城之后,哈真等正赶上大雪封城,军粮成为问题。因此哈真等要求高丽送军粮,并出兵助战。高丽西北部元帅赵冲派部将金良镜率精兵一千人给蒙古军送米一千石。并于1219年高丽派出援军与蒙古、东夏兵一起围攻江东城。在蒙古、东夏、高丽联军的围攻下,契丹叛众“官人、军卒、妇女五万余人开城门出降”^[10],其头领喊舍自尽而死。哈真等杀死了喊舍的妻子及为首的官员等一百多人,其余五万余契丹降民,一部分人被迁到耶律留哥的领地,归耶律留哥管辖^[11],一部分人留在高丽,赵冲等分送各州、县“择闲旷地居之,量给田土,业农为民,俗呼契丹场”^[12]。大雪封城为蒙古、东夏、高丽联军攻下江东城提供了有利条件,契丹叛众被围困在江东城中,缺衣少食,陷入绝境,不得不开城门而投降。

关于1218年成吉思汗派兵攻打契丹叛众的蒙古和东夏国的兵数问题,《元史》和《高丽史》的记载有出入。《元史》记载:“戊寅(1218年),留哥引蒙古、契丹军及东夏国元帅胡土兵十万,围喊舍。高丽助兵四十万,克之,喊舍自经死。”^[13]以上史料中将高丽派出援军和蒙古、东夏、高丽联军攻克江东城,契丹投降等事均记载为1218年,这可能是《元史》耶律留哥传纪年有误。蒙古和东夏国军队围攻江东城是在1218年,并在这一年要求高丽派出援军。但高丽派赵冲,金就砺率兵支援蒙古,蒙古、东夏、高丽三国联军攻克江东城,喊舍自尽而死,契丹叛众投降是在1219年。另外,《元史》耶律留哥传所记载的耶律留哥所引蒙古、契丹军及东夏国元帅胡土兵十万,与《高丽史》所记载的蒙古、东夏兵数有出入。《高丽史》记载:“高宗五年十二月己亥,朔蒙古元帅哈真及札剌率兵一万与东夏万奴所遣完颜子渊兵二万声言讨丹贼,攻和、猛、顺、德四城破之,直指江东城”^[14]。《高丽史》中并未出现过耶律留哥和胡土二人的名字。日本学者箭内互认为完颜子渊和胡土是同一个人,子渊是胡土的汉译名^[15]。《元史》所记载的蒙古、契丹、东夏国兵十万人和《高丽史》所记载的蒙古、东夏国兵三万人,数字方面的出入相当大。《元史》所记载的蒙古、东夏、契丹军10万人有待于进一步考证。笔者认为假设《元史》所记载的蒙古、契丹、东夏兵十万人可信的话,会有两种可能性:第一种可能是,《高丽史》所记载的蒙古元帅哈真、札剌率领的蒙古兵一万和东真万奴所遣完颜子渊所统率的东夏国兵两万可能是1218年攻打江东城的一路人马,他们先攻克高丽的和、猛、顺、德四城,然后向江东城进军。而其余的七万人可能是耶律留哥所统率的另一路人马。第二种可能性是,《高丽史》所记载的蒙古元帅哈真、札剌、东夏国完颜子渊率领的蒙古、东夏国兵三万可能是1218年攻打江东城时蒙古、东夏联合兵数。后来,在1219年高丽派援军的同时,蒙古和东夏国也有增兵。假设这种可能性成立,《元史》耶律留哥传所记载的十万人是1219年增兵之后的兵数,其中包括哈真、札剌、完颜子渊率领的蒙古、东夏兵三万。另

外,《高丽史》中并未记载高丽援军的数字,《元史》耶律留哥传记载的高丽援军四十万,可能有夸张的成分。箭内互认为《元史》耶律留哥传记载的高丽援军为四十万并不可信。假设高丽援军真的象《元史》耶律留哥传所记载的有四十万人,攻下江东城的功劳也不会落到蒙古、东夏头上,应当头功归高丽才对^[16]。关于这一问题有待于进一步考证。

1219年正月蒙古、东夏、高丽联军讨灭高丽江东城契丹叛众之后,“高丽王瞰遂降,请岁贡方物”^[17]。高丽为了答谢蒙古、东夏联军平定了骚扰高丽多年的契丹叛众,高宗(瞰)同意每年向蒙古纳贡,高丽与蒙古达成“兄弟”之盟约。但因当时金朝在辽东屯营,高丽不能出使蒙古,于是形成了蒙古使臣每年经过东夏国境内到高丽收取方物的惯例。哈真亦与赵冲、金就砺结拜为兄弟。同年二月哈真等从高丽撤军。

1219年因蒙古派往花剌子模的使臣及商队被讹答剌城长官亦难出所杀,成吉思汗开始西征,成吉思汗幼弟帖木哥斡赤斤留下监国。蒙古使臣奉帖木哥斡赤斤之命多次到高丽索取贡物,每次索要之物非常之多,给高丽人民带来了沉重的负担。1223年(蒙古太祖十八年,高丽高宗十年)三月木华黎在进攻金朝时去世,使蒙古在辽东的控制再次出现不稳定状况。蒲鲜万奴趁成吉思汗西征未归之际摆脱蒙古的控制,并遣使高丽劝说与蒙古断交。1224年(蒙古太祖十九年,高丽高宗十一年)正月,东夏国向高丽遣使赍牒文告知与蒙古断绝旧好,劝说高丽也与蒙古断绝关系,表示愿意在青州和定州各置榷场与高丽进行贸易。东夏国为了使蒙古和高丽彻底断绝关系进行挑拨离间,东夏国人时而假扮高丽人,中途劫杀蒙古使者,时而假扮蒙古兵来侵袭高丽。同年十二月二十四日,蒙古使者着古与等十人到高丽收取方物,1225年(蒙古太祖二十年,高丽高宗十二年)正月在归途中经过东夏国时被强盗所杀。蒙古以为杀害使臣之事是高丽人所为,亦与高丽断绝关系^[18]。蒙古使臣被杀事件,使高丽君臣担心蒙古出兵征讨,但成吉思汗西征归来之后,又征西夏,在1227年(蒙古太祖二十二年,高丽高宗十四年)归途中去世,这使得蒙古此时顾及不到东方的高丽。

二 窝阔台合汗三次派兵入侵高丽

成吉思汗在西征花剌子模之前,听取了也遂哈敦(qatun)的建议,提前指定第三子窝阔台为大蒙古国的汗位继承人。成吉思汗病逝之后,1227年到1229年由成吉思汗幼子拖雷监国。1229年(蒙古太宗元年,高丽高宗十六年),诸王贵族在克鲁伦河畔举行蒙古大忽里勒台,遵照成吉思汗的遗嘱,推举窝阔台为大蒙古国合汗(qaγan)。窝阔台继汗位之后,继承成吉思汗的遗志继续进军金朝,1231年(蒙古太宗三年,高丽高宗十八年),窝阔台兵分三路,并亲自率领中路军向金朝发起进攻。同时,先后派撒礼塔和唐古征高丽。

1231年八月至1232年(蒙古太宗四年,高丽高宗十九年)正月间,撒礼塔第一次征伐高

丽。《元史》太宗本纪记载：“太宗三年秋八月以高丽杀使者，命撒礼塔率师讨之，取四十余城。”^[19]《元史》高丽传记载：“太宗三年(1231)八月，命撒礼塔征其国，国人洪福源迎降于军。”^[20]《元史》洪福源传记载：“辛卯(1231)秋九月，太宗命将撒里塔讨之，福源率先附州县之民，与撒礼塔拼力攻未附者。”^[21]《元高丽纪事》则记载：“太宗三年(1231)辛卯九月，上命将撒里塔火里赤领兵征讨，国人洪福源迎军投降。”^[22]此次太宗命撒礼塔出征高丽的时间问题，《元史》太宗本纪和《元史》高丽传均记载为秋八月，而《元史》洪福源传和《元高丽纪事》均记载为九月。池内宏认为太宗下令撒礼塔出征应是在八月以前，《元史》太宗本纪和《元史》高丽传的记载也不足为信，《元高丽纪事》所记载为九月亦是错误的^[23]。《高丽史》记载：“高宗十八年(1231)秋八月壬午蒙古元帅撒礼塔围咸新镇屠铁州。”^[24]据这段史料记载，可见，在1231年秋八月撒礼塔已经到达高丽，并开始围攻咸新镇和铁州了。因此，可以肯定《元史》洪福源传和《元高丽纪事》记载太宗命撒礼塔征高丽的时间为九月是错误的。

蒙古此次出兵高丽，以先前使者着古与被杀事件为理由来向高丽问罪。本来撒礼塔打算先讨灭东夏国，但最后还是决定先征讨高丽，好让高丽助兵和蒙古军一起出征东夏国。撒礼塔八月到达高丽之后，高丽的洪福源(洪大宣之子)首先投降蒙古。八月、九月撒礼塔所率领的蒙古军攻下高丽咸新镇、铁州、龙州、宣州、郭州、黄州、凤州等七个城，攻龟州、西京二城都没能攻下而被击退。十月撒礼塔派使臣阿土(阿儿秃)作为劝降使赍牒到高丽西京(开城)，但在途中被平州的官吏囚禁。此时高丽朝廷还不知是真的蒙古兵来了，因为，此前常有东夏国人假扮蒙古兵来偷袭，高丽朝廷仍以为是假蒙古人来骚扰。平州官吏不知如何处置阿土等人向高丽朝廷请示，高丽朝廷内部有人认为应该杀死使臣，有人则认为应该问清他们来这里的理由。十月二十日平州官吏将阿土送到西京，高丽朝廷看到牒文才弄清楚是真的蒙古军来了。蒙古使臣在平州被囚禁之事，使撒礼塔非常恼怒，十一月撒礼塔围攻平州，攻下平州之后对官吏、百姓进行了大肆屠杀。十一月高丽派闵曦请求和解，撒礼塔并未答应。十二月高丽王曦(高宗)派其弟淮安公促请和，撒礼塔才答应高丽请和之事。

关于高丽王曦派其弟淮安公促请和之事，《元史》太宗本纪记载：“太宗三年(1231)秋八月高丽王曦遣其弟怀安公请降。”^[25]《元史》洪福源传记载：“辛卯(1231)秋九月，福源又与阿儿秃等进至王京。高丽王曦乃遣其弟怀安公请降。”^[26]《元高丽纪事》记载：“太宗三年(1231)辛卯九月，撒礼塔又差阿儿秃与福源赴其王京，招其主王曦。曦请其弟怀安公请和。”^[27]屠寄和那珂通世根据《元史》太宗本纪和洪福源传的记载，认为1231年九月蒙古使臣阿儿秃和洪福源来宣谕之时，高丽高宗先派其弟淮安公促请和，然后遭到撒礼塔屠平州，围攻王京之事。到十二月蒙古方才同意高丽降附的请求^[28]。箭内互认为屠寄和那珂通世所持的“九月请和说”是错误的，并指出《元史》太宗本纪所记载的八月应是撒礼塔率领蒙古军攻高丽咸新镇的时间，而《元史》洪福源传所记载的九月是月份的误写，这一时间可能是洪

福源会见撒礼塔军的时间。他还列出否定“九月请和说”的四条理由：一是，到九月末止，蒙古军攻下高丽四十余城是不可能的事。撒礼塔围咸新镇、屠铁州是八月二十九日的话，假设请和是在九月末，那么，这一期间只有一个月时间，蒙古军再怎么强大，高丽军如何弱，在这么短的时间内攻下四十余城是件难事。况且，据《高丽史》记载八月以来到九月末，蒙古军只攻下义州（咸新镇）、铁州、龙州、宣州、郭州、黄州、凤州等七个城，攻龟州、西京二城都被击退。二是，从战争的全局看，到九月末高丽还没有请和的必要。高丽在九月二日通过朝议决定防御蒙古军，九月九日高丽大军从王京出发北进，而正当十月二十日龟州被蒙古军围攻，第二天力战击退蒙古军之时，高丽大军到达安州，蒙古军来攻安州之后，高丽军才败退。如果高丽请和也应该是在安州被蒙古军打败之后的事情。三是，从平州事件来推测，九月请和说很难成立。十月一日蒙古使臣二人到达平州，被平州官吏囚禁，高丽朝廷有人主张杀死蒙古使臣，有人主张问清楚来朝的理由，此月二十日将蒙古使臣送到王京。撒礼塔知道后大怒，派兵围平州屠城。撒礼塔屠平州是十一月二十八日之事。如果高丽九月请和的话，又怎么可能十月初囚禁蒙古使臣，朝廷内还有主张杀死使者之人，蒙古与高丽处于敌对状态。四是，高丽朝廷在十月份之前还不知道蒙古军入侵。据《高丽史》记载可知，高丽朝廷误以为侵入西北境的不是真的蒙古军来了，而认为是女真人假扮蒙古军侵略的行为。当十月二十日见到从平州送来的蒙古使臣之后，才知道真蒙古军来了。所以九月高丽请和是不可能有的事情，高丽请和最早也是在阿儿秃和洪福源到达王京宣谕的十月二十日之后。因曦请求和解是高丽请和的开端，十二月请和是正确的^[29]。笔者赞同箭内互的观点，《元史》纪、传中的记载，常出现前后有出入的地方，因此，对《元史》所记载的史料不能直接引用，须加以考证方能利用。

撒礼塔在高丽京、府、州、县置达鲁花赤七十二人，监督高丽行政，于1232年正月从高丽撤军。高丽高宗再次向蒙古“投拜”，并派使臣向蒙古纳贡。

1232年三月高丽派池义深和洪巨源等赍国帑物，赍文书到撒礼塔处。四月又遣赵叔昌和薛慎如蒙古称臣纳贡。同年六月，宋得昌从池义深行李内逃来说“义深到撒礼塔所，撒礼塔怒曰：‘前送文牒内事何不办来，执送义深于帝所，余皆拘囚’”^[30]。宋得昌逃来后向高丽报告撒礼塔将池义深囚禁，蒙古要派大兵来征高丽，这使高丽民众非常惶恐，高宗以及大臣信以为真，在崔瑀的主张下高宗被迫迁都江华岛。

高丽迁都江华岛的时间问题，《元史》纪、传和《高丽史》等史料记载有出入。《元史》太宗本纪记载，“太宗四年夏四月，高丽叛，杀所置官吏，徙居江华岛”^[31]。《元史》高丽传记载：“太宗四年六月，瞰尽杀朝廷所置达鲁花赤七十二人以叛，遂率王京及诸州县民窜海岛”^[32]。《元史》洪福源传记载：“壬辰夏六月，高丽复叛，杀所置达鲁花赤，悉驱国人入居江华岛”^[33]。《高丽史》则记载：“高宗十九年六月崔瑀胁王迁都江华”^[34]。根据以上史料记载只有《元

史》本纪记载高丽迁都的时间为1232年四月,而《元史》高丽传和洪福源传的记载与《高丽史》的记载相同,均记载为1232年六月。《元史》高丽传、《元史》洪福源传及《高丽史》所记载的六月应该是正确的。在四月高丽派上将军赵叔昌和御史薛慎到蒙古上表称臣,不可能又在当月迁都江华岛反叛蒙古。《元史》太宗本纪所记载的四月应是月份的误写。

池内宏认为上述史料中提到的宋得昌应该就是后文中提到的宋立章^[35]。笔者赞同他的观点。李奎报《东国李相国集》所记载的壬辰(1232)九月至十二月高丽给撒礼塔的文书中,有九月所呈的“答蒙古官人书”、十一月所呈“答沙打官人书”和“陈情表”、十二月所呈的“送蒙古大官人书”等四份文书中均提到蒙古指责高丽听信宋立章从蒙古逃来之后所说的话而迁都之事。十一月所呈报的“陈情表”中明确记载:“有宋立章者,从池义深行李,诣在上国,逃来言:上国将举大兵来讨”^[36]。从这条史料可以断定宋立章和宋得昌应该是同一个人。《高丽史》世家转载了这些文书^[37]。从上述四份文书内容来分析,蒙古方面似乎对高丽听信宋立章的谣言非常不满,指责高丽不顾两国所达成的盟约,听信谗言逃入海岛之事。并追究宋立章的罪行,认为宋立章动摇民心,罪不可赦,并命令高丽将宋立章捕送过来。但是,高丽方面多次回书表明其迁都与宋立章所说无关,并反复强调宋立章已经逃跑,捕送宋立章确实有困难。

正如高丽所说,高丽迁都江华岛不完全与宋立章逃来之后所说的话有关。早在1231年,尹纘、朴文穰将家属安置到江华岛,并对崔瑀说:“江华可以避乱”^[38],瑀相信他们的话,派人到江华岛审视,但所派之人在途中被蒙古兵所拘留。由此可见,崔瑀在一年前就想迁都江华岛了,只是当时时机还不成熟。

1232年五月,高丽朝廷讨论如何对付蒙古问题方面,形成了两种不同的观点,“辛丑宰枢会宣庆殿议御蒙古,癸卯四品以上又会议,皆曰城守拒敌,唯宰枢郑亩、太集成等曰,宜迁都避乱”^[39]。高丽大臣中有一部分人主张防御蒙古,而另一部分人则支持迁都避乱的主张。高丽权臣崔瑀主张将王京及百官迁到攻时难、易于守的江华岛,在崔瑀提出迁都避乱的说法之后,无人敢反对,但高宗一直犹豫不定,1232年六月宋立章从蒙古逃来之后,说蒙古元帅将率大军来讨,这些话成为高丽迁都江华岛的催化剂,促使崔瑀马上胁迫高宗迁都江华岛。高丽迁都江华岛之后,命知门下省事金仲龟和知枢密院事金仁镜为王京留守。七月高丽内侍尹复昌往北界诸城夺蒙古达鲁花赤的弓矢,并到宣州射杀达鲁花赤。八月大将军闵曦和司录崔滋温等谋杀西京达鲁花赤,西京官吏怕与平州一样遭到屠城之灾,所以守城官吏均反叛,西京留守崔林寿及判官、分台、御史、六曹员等皆逃窜于楮岛^[40]。

高丽迁都江华岛及高丽北界诸城官吏射杀达鲁花赤之事,使蒙古再次派兵出征高丽。1232年九月至十二月窝阔台派撒礼塔第二次出征高丽,要求高宗出陆投降。窝阔台认为高丽背叛蒙古迁都江华岛与金宣宗向成吉思汗请和、并给成吉思汗献公主之后,从中都迁都到

汴京之事是没有什么两样的。而窝阔台再次出征高丽,与当时成吉思汗闻知宣宗南迁之后认为金主请和而又迁都分明是对蒙古有疑心因此出兵问罪,也是同出一辙^[41]。另一方面,蒙古先征伐高丽的目的是想让高丽助兵一起讨伐东夏国。

最终,蒙古此次出兵高丽的目的并未达成,高宗始终未出陆降附蒙古,撒礼塔在攻打高丽处仁城时被高丽僧人金允侯射死,副元帅帖哥领兵返回。《元史》太宗本纪记载:“太宗四年八月,撒礼塔复征高丽,中矢卒”^[42]。《元史》洪福源传记载:“秋八月,太宗复遣撒礼塔将兵来讨,福源尽率所部合攻之,至王京处仁城,撒礼塔中流矢卒,其副帖哥引兵还,唯福源留屯”^[43]。《高丽史》高宗世家记载:“十二月,撒礼塔攻处仁城,有一僧避兵在城中,射杀之”^[44]。以上史料证明,撒礼塔是在十二月攻打处仁城时被射死的,但《元史》及《高丽史》世家的记载简单,并未记载射死撒礼塔之人的姓名。《高丽史》金允侯传记载:“金允侯高宗时人当为僧,住白岬院,蒙古兵至允侯避乱于处仁城,蒙古元帅撒礼塔来攻城,允侯射杀之”^[45]。这里,清楚地记载了高丽僧人金允侯射死撒礼塔之事。后来,高宗因金允侯射死蒙古元帅有功而提拔重用他。

1233年(蒙古太宗五年,高丽高宗二十年)二月,窝阔台命其长子贵由及按赤带等率兵征讨东夏国。九月蒙古军生擒蒲鲜万奴,灭了东夏国。贵由等消灭东夏国班师之际,1234年(蒙古太宗六年,高丽高宗二十一年)蒙古消灭了金朝。正如金渭显教授所指出的那样,东夏国的灭亡成为蒙古军长驱直入高丽东北边境的契机^[46],而金朝的灭亡则巩固了蒙古在辽东的统治势力,进而解决了进攻高丽时的后顾之忧。1235年窝阔台又派拔都、贵由、蒙哥等率大军征伐南宋,同时,在同年(蒙古太宗七年,高丽高宗二十二年)闰七月,阔台派唐古第三次征服高丽。唐古在撒礼塔第一次征高丽时作为三元帅之一随从撒礼塔出征过高丽,很明显当撒礼塔在处仁城战死之后,窝阔台将撒礼塔未完成的让高宗出陆投降的使命交给唐古来完成。

《元史》记载:“太宗七年乙未春,唐古征高丽”^[47]。唐古是在1235年七月出征高丽的,他此次也带着东夏兵一起攻打高丽诸城。1238年(蒙古太宗十年,高丽高宗二十五年),蒙古兵到达高丽东京烧毁黄龙寺塔。同年,高丽派使臣请和,蒙古要求高宗出陆投降,并催他亲自到蒙古,但高宗始终并未出陆亲朝。到1239年(蒙古太宗十一年,高丽高宗二十六年)四月,唐古所率的蒙古军和东夏兵经过五年时间,攻克了高丽龙冈县、凤州、海州、洞州等诸多城市。同年四月唐古从高丽撤兵,十二月高宗派新安公佺到蒙古,新安公佺到蒙古是高丽王族到蒙古本土的开始^[48]。1241年(蒙古太宗十三年,高丽高宗二十八年)“秋,高丽国王王曦以族子缙入质”^[49],高宗称永宁公缙为己子,以缙为质子派他到蒙古表示高丽降附之意,永宁公缙到蒙古是高丽秃鲁花入蒙古的开始。同年蒙古窝阔台合汗暴病去世。

三 贵由统治时期阿母侃的征伐

窝阔台去世后,由于蒙古朝廷内部的汗位争夺,自1241年到1246年(蒙古定宗元年,高丽高宗三十三年)间,蒙古的朝政由窝阔台皇后脱列哥那(乃马真氏)掌握。因推举大汗的大忽里勒台迟迟不能召开,脱列哥那皇后摄政长达五年之久。在乃马真氏摄政期间,由于蒙古处理内部纷乱而无心出兵高丽,因此,这一时期蒙古与高丽的关系也极为平稳。1246年(蒙古定宗元年,高丽高宗三十三年),蒙古汗位由窝阔台长子贵由继承,贵由继汗位之后,于1246年冬到1248年(蒙古定宗三年,高丽高宗三十五年)春,派阿母侃出征高丽,这是自窝阔台之后,蒙古第四次征伐高丽。

1247年(蒙古定宗二年,高丽高宗三十四年)秋七月,“蒙古元帅阿母侃领兵来屯盐州”^[50]。高丽方面派金守精犒劳阿母侃之军。阿母侃统领蒙古军攻打高丽北部诸城和西海道地区,一度使高丽君臣非常惶恐。但是1248年定宗贵由去世,贵由汗的短暂统治,不得不使阿母侃所率蒙古军未等高宗出陆投降就从高丽撤回。池内宏认为阿母侃此次出兵高丽仅是骚扰了高丽北界和西海地方,在使迁都江华岛的高丽君臣转变对蒙古的态度方面没有起到任何作用^[51]。高丽在1232年迁都之后,蒙古窝阔台合汗三次派兵出征高丽,到贵由合汗派遣阿母侃征服高丽,蒙古未达到让高宗及权臣崔瑀出陆投降的目的。

定宗病死之后,蒙古朝廷再次引起汗位之争,蒙古汗位空缺,1249年(蒙古海迷失皇后摄政,高丽高宗三十六年)至1251年(蒙古宪宗元年,高丽高宗三十八年)贵由的皇后斡兀立海迷失摄政。在由谁来继承汗位这一问题上,成吉思汗四子术赤、察合台、窝阔台、拖雷系的后王形成了对立的两派。术赤长子拔都推荐拖雷之子蒙哥继承汗位,斡兀立海迷失皇后表示反对。察合台系亲王也认为汗位应该由窝阔台后人继承。拔都及拖雷正妻唆鲁禾帖尼多次派使臣与斡兀立海迷失和察合台诸王商议,始终没有结果,1251年6月东西道诸王在阔帖兀阿阑之地召开大忽里勒台,推举蒙哥为合汗。

在蒙古朝廷内部引起汗位之争无暇顾及高丽之时,高丽为了有效防御蒙古攻打江华岛,于1250年(蒙古海迷失皇后摄政,高丽高宗三十七年)“筑江都中城”^[52]。在蒙古催促高宗出陆迁都的情况下,高丽在都城周围新建中城,很明显高宗及权臣崔沆并不想出陆投降。蒙古为此指责高丽筑造中城之事,高丽方面的解释则是筑中城是为了防范宋朝贼船往来,并表示对蒙古绝没有二心。但蒙古并不相信高丽的解释,更加急切地要求高宗亲朝并出陆迁回旧都。

四 蒙哥统治时期也古和札刺儿带的出征

蒙哥继汗位之后,派使臣到高丽诏告新合汗继位之事,并催高宗亲朝并出陆投降,要求高丽拆毁江华新都迁回开城旧都。高丽方面商议应该给蒙古的回书中声明或让太子亲朝、或称高宗因病不能亲朝。当时,高丽权臣崔瑀已经于1249年去世,因崔瑀没有嫡子,这一时期,高丽的朝政由崔瑀的庶子崔沆掌权。崔沆与他的父亲崔瑀一样控制高宗不让高宗出陆投降,也并未使高宗亲朝到蒙古。在高丽迟迟不出陆投降的情况下,蒙古蒙哥合汗在派兵攻打南宋的同时,于1252年(蒙古宪宗二年,高丽高宗三十九年)至1259年(蒙古宪宗九年,高丽高宗四十六年)间,派也古和札刺儿带出征高丽。

1252年十月至1254年(蒙古宪宗四年,高丽高宗四十一年)春正月,蒙古派也古第五次征伐高丽。《元史》记载:“宪宗二年冬十月,命诸王也古征高丽。”^[53]根据这段史料记载,可见,也古奉蒙哥之命征高丽是在1252年十月。同书又记载“宪宗三年癸丑春正月,诸王也古以怨袭诸王塔刺儿营。帝遂会诸王于斡难河北,赐予甚厚。罢也古征高丽兵,以札刺儿带为征东元帅”^[54]。根据这段史料记载,蒙哥似乎在1253年春正月罢免了也古征高丽的兵权,而以札刺儿带为征东元帅。但笔者认为这段史料所记载的“罢也古征高丽”在时间方面有疑点。宪宗不可能因为也古袭塔刺儿营地的缘故罢免也古的兵权,而停止征服高丽之事。这里值得关注的事情有两点:一是,札刺儿带东征高丽是在1254年七月,而不是在1253年春;二是,据《高丽史》记载,蒙哥这次派兵高丽担任元帅的是也古(也窟、耶虎)。因此可以肯定1253年春正月蒙哥罢免也古的兵权是不可能。上述史料中所记载的“1253年春正月罢也古征高丽兵,以札刺儿带为征东元帅”月份有误。也古从高丽撤回应该是在1253年十一月。另外,《元史》记载:“宪宗三年冬十二月,大理平,帝驻蹕汪吉地,命宗王耶虎与洪福源同领军征高丽,攻拔禾山、东州、春州、三角山、杨根、天龙等城。”^[55]这段史料所记载的1253年12月宪宗所派耶虎(也古)、洪福源军攻克高丽之事,《元史》编纂是转载《元高丽纪事》的记载,因此,1253年12月派兵高丽是不可能的,这应该是时间上的误写。

从1252年也古接受蒙哥之命出征高丽到1253年蒙古兵渡鸭绿江,这期间蒙哥是否让也古撤回另派他人征高丽,因史料记载不详尚不清楚。《高丽史》记载,1253年四月被蒙古所虏的原州民还说阿母侃、洪福源向蒙哥汇报说高丽筑重城,无出陆归降之意,所以皇帝命皇弟松柱^[56]率兵一万从东夏国境内入东界。阿母侃、洪福源领兵皆屯大伊州。那么,就像原州民所说,蒙哥是否真的派过其弟松柱领兵一万征服高丽,还是原州民所说只是谣传而已不得而知。但是,笔者认为即使蒙哥真的派其弟从东夏境内入高丽东界,《元史》所记载的蒙哥在1253年初罢免也古兵权的事实并不能成立。《高丽史》记载:“高宗四十年(1253年)八

月,蒙古元帅也窟遣人传诏于王,其诏责以六事曰:朕欲自白,日所出至于所没,凡有黎庶咸令逸乐,缘汝辈逆命,命皇叔也窟统率往伐,若迎命纳款罢兵以还,若有拒命朕皆无赦”^[57]。这里提到的也窟就是也古。从这里可以看出蒙哥此次派兵出征高丽的元帅是也古。这段史料记载表明了蒙哥对高丽的态度,只有在高丽归附的情况下他才会罢兵,否则是不会罢兵的。蒙哥让也古从高丽撤回是在同年十一月,高丽派高宗次子安庆公浟表示降服之意,洪福源军则在1254年正月从高丽撤出。

1254年(蒙古宪宗四年,高丽高宗四十一年)七月到1255年(蒙古宪宗五年,高丽高宗四十二年)春,蒙哥以札刺儿带为征东元帅出兵高丽,这是自窝阔台合汗派兵讨伐高丽之后,蒙古第六次出征高丽。《元史》记载:“宪宗四年夏,遣札刺亦儿部人火儿赤征高丽”^[58]。这段史料所记载的札刺亦儿部人应是指札刺儿带,火儿赤是蒙古语“qurči”的音译,意思是带弓箭者,火儿赤是指取官,将火儿赤认为是人名是错误的。同书又记载:“宪宗五年,改命札刺姆与洪福源同征高丽。此后又连三岁,攻拔其光州、安城、忠州、玄风、珍原、甲向、玉果等城”^[59],这段史料所记载的宪宗五年是错误的。《元高丽纪事》记载:“宪宗四年甲寅,改命札刺姆与洪福源同征高丽。五年、六年、七年连岁,攻拔其光州、安城、忠州、玄风、珍原、甲向、玉果等城”^[60]。札刺姆就是札刺儿带,池内宏认为《元史》编纂者将《元高丽纪事》中的“宪宗四年甲寅”误写为“五年”,又将“五年、六年、七年连岁”改为“此后又连三岁”^[61]。《高丽史》所记载的“高宗四十一年秋七月壬戌西北面兵马使报车罗大(即札刺儿带)等率兵五千渡鸭绿江”,^[62]也证明蒙哥合汗派札刺儿带征高丽的时间应是1254年七月。1254年八月札刺儿带所率蒙古军入高丽西北边境,要求高丽君臣、百姓出陆,并随蒙古之风俗剃发,否则蒙古军不会撤兵返回。权臣崔沆擅政,高宗迟迟未出陆投降。到同年十二月为止“蒙兵所虏男女无虑二十万六千八百余人,杀戮者不可胜计,所经州郡皆为煨烬,自有蒙兵之乱未有甚于此时也”,^[63]可见,此次蒙古兵的入侵比起以往蒙古侵入高丽时,给高丽人民带来的灾难更为严重。札刺儿带声称高丽权臣崔沆出陆,蒙古才肯罢兵。但是,未等高宗和崔沆出陆投降,于1255年春正月,札刺儿带接到蒙哥合汗的命令不得不从高丽撤兵。

1255年秋到1259(蒙古宪宗九年,高丽高宗四十六年)年春,札刺儿带再次出征高丽,这是蒙古第七次征伐高丽。1255年九月札刺儿带率领大军到高丽西京,正如上述《元高丽纪事》所记载的“宪宗五年、六年、七年连岁”札刺儿带攻破高丽光州、安城、忠州等诸多城市。但在这三年期间蒙哥合汗在1256年(蒙古宪宗六年,高丽高宗四十三年)九月派许趾命札刺儿带撤兵,1257年(蒙古宪宗七年,高丽高宗四十四年)九月在高丽徐守刚的恳求下蒙哥合汗答应让蒙古军回师,札刺儿带退屯盐州。1254年至1257年蒙古催促高宗出陆迁都,但高宗和权臣崔沆并未出江华岛迁回旧都。1257年闰四月崔沆暴病而死,七月以崔沆之子崔瑄为右副承,但是崔瑄过于残暴,于1258年三月被高丽大司成柳璈、别将金仁俊等所杀,高丽

政权重新回到了高宗手中,高丽君臣如新王登基般庆贺,举国欢庆。蒙古于“宪宗八年(1258年,高丽高宗四十五年)三月,命洪茶丘率师从札刺解同征高丽”^[64]。这次札刺儿带应该是来督促高丽君臣百姓出陆迁都的。高丽权臣被诛,1259年四月高宗决定派太子僖到蒙古。而在同年五月札刺儿带被手下将领所杀害,高丽高宗又去世。同年七月蒙哥合汗也在征南宋时在四川合州钓鱼城病死。

五 忽必烈与僖的会见及蒙古罢兵

成吉思汗之孙忽必烈继位之后,没有像其祖父辈那样以武力征服高丽,而是对高丽采取了一系列的怀柔政策。忽必烈与高丽太子僖的会见结束了蒙古与高丽多年以来的战争局势,使蒙古与高丽的关系出现了转折点。

1259年四月高丽高宗长子僖替其父亲入朝蒙古,当时蒙哥合汗正在攻打南宋合州,世子僖奉命赴四川朝见蒙哥合汗。但是,当他还未到达四川来到甘肃六盘山时,接到蒙哥合汗去世的消息。当时,忽必烈统率蒙古另一路人马正在攻打南宋鄂州,忽必烈在鄂州也接到了蒙哥合汗去世的消息,并得知其弟阿里不哥在漠北策划继承汗位之事,于是匆忙答应与宋议和,北上赶往开平。这时,世子僖并没有因得知蒙哥合汗的死讯而回国,他转道朝见了北归途中的忽必烈。世子僖在汴梁迎谒忽必烈,这使忽必烈非常高兴,他认为“高丽万里之国,自唐太宗亲征而不能服,今其世子自来归我,此天意也”^[65],并大加褒奖世子僖,让他随驾一起到开平府。高丽世子僖此次入朝蒙古意义重大,忽必烈与僖的会见成为蒙古与高丽关系好转的契机,蒙古与高丽关系向亲善的方向发展。

1260年(蒙古中统元年,高丽元宗元年)三月,忽必烈的车驾到开平,他被亲王合丹、阿只吉等西道诸王,塔察儿、也先哥、忽刺忽儿、爪都等东道诸王拥立为帝,在开平即位。忽必烈之弟阿里不哥此时也在漠北称汗,蒙古出现了南北两个汗国对立的局面。此时,高丽高宗去世的消息传到开平,江淮宣抚使赵良弼向忽必烈进言:“高丽虽名小国,依阻山海,国家用兵二十余年尚未臣服,前岁太子僖来朝,适銮舆西征,留滞者二年矣。供张疏薄,无以怀辑其心,一旦得归,将不复来,宜厚其馆谷,待以藩王之礼。今闻其父已死,诚能立僖为王,遣送还国,必感恩戴德,愿修臣职,是不劳一卒而得一国也”^[66]。赵良弼认为高丽虽是个小国家,但蒙古用兵二十多年,仍未能使其臣服是因为高丽靠山海的险阻。指出世子僖在蒙哥合汗征南宋时来到蒙古,其馆舍待遇并不优厚,这样很难笼络其心。建议应该提高世子僖的馆舍待遇,以藩王之礼对待,这样才能使世子僖对忽必烈感恩戴德,诚心臣服。不然世子僖一旦归国就不会再来蒙古。此次趁高宗去世之际,立世子僖为高丽王,并让他回国继位,这样可以不动干戈就能使高丽归附蒙古。陕西宣抚使廉希宪也这样认为:“高丽国王尝遣其世子僖人

觐,会宪宗将兵攻宋,俛留三年不遣,今闻其父已死,若立俛,遣归国,彼必怀德于我,是不烦兵而得一国也”^[67]。忽必烈采纳了赵良弼和廉希宪的建议,立即改善俛的馆舍待遇,立他为高丽新王,并派束里大领兵护送归国。

1260年三月,世子俛回到高丽,忽必烈闻世子俛至高丽西京逗留八九天,疑有变故派使臣到高丽督促元宗继位之事,四月元宗在江华岛继位。忽必烈诏谕元宗劝课农桑,以阜残民,认为高丽出水就陆是便民安居的好事。蒙古还归还了高丽所俘民众及其逃户。同年六月元宗改名为祖,遣其子永安公偕等到蒙古贺即位,忽必烈赐元宗国王封册、王印及虎符。忽必烈让永安公偕赍三道诏书回高丽,诏告高丽蒙古将“秋以为期”罢兵,高丽内附蒙古之后,高丽民众“衣冠从本国俗,皆不改易”^[68]。就是说,蒙古将在秋天从高丽撤兵,对内附的高丽民众不要求剃发,穿胡服等。忽必烈的这一政策与蒙古窝阔台、贵由、蒙哥合汗时期一直要求高丽出水就陆、国王亲朝、剃发随蒙古之俗等有所不同。但是,忽必烈与窝阔台、贵由、蒙哥合汗时期一样,始终没有放弃让高丽迁出江华岛,回到旧都开城的要求。元宗归附蒙古之后,于1270年迁到旧都开城,江华岛被蒙古军烧毁。自元宗迁出江华岛还都旧京之后,高丽与蒙古的关系没有再出现过战争、断绝来往等现象。

注 释

[1]《元史·太祖本纪》卷一,中华书局点校本,1976年版,第20页。

[2]《元史·太祖本纪》卷一,第15页。

[3]郝时远《蒙古东征高丽概述》,《蒙古史研究》第二辑,内蒙古人民出版社,1986年,第15页。

[4]《元史》卷一四九,耶律留哥传,第3511页。

[5]《元史·太祖本纪》卷一,第19页。

[6]《元史·太祖本纪》卷一,第19页。

[7]《元史·太祖本纪》卷一,第19页。

[8]《元史》卷一四九,耶律留哥传,第3513页。

[9]《元高丽纪事》,广文书局印行,1972年,第3页。

[10]《高丽史》卷一百三,第210页。

[11]《元史》卷一四九,耶律留哥传,第3513页。

[12]《高丽史》卷一百三,第211页。

[13]《元史》卷一四九,耶律留哥传,第3513页。

[14]《高丽史》卷二二,〔日本〕东京国书刊行会,明治四十一年(1912年)版,第333页。《高丽史节要》的记载与《高丽史》的记载相同。《高丽史节要》卷十五,〔韩国〕东国文化社,檀纪4293年(1960年)版,第356页。

[15]箭内互《东真国之疆域》,《满洲历史地理》第二卷,〔日本〕丸善株式会社,大正二年(1913年)版,

第226页。

- [16] 箭内互《蒙古の高丽经略》，《满鲜地理历史研究报告》第四卷，大正七年（1918年），第283页。
- [17] 《元史·太祖本纪》卷一，第20页。
- [18] 《高丽史》卷二二，第336—337页。
- [19] 《元史·太宗本纪》卷二，第31页。
- [20] 《元史·高丽传》卷二百八，第4608页。
- [21] 《元史·洪福源传》卷一百五十三，第3627页。
- [22] 《元高丽纪事》，第5页。
- [23] 池内宏《蒙古の高丽征伐》，《满鲜地理历史研究报告》第十卷，大正十三年（1924年）版，第123页。
- [24] 《高丽史》卷二二，第336—337页。
- [25] 《元史·太宗本纪》卷二，第31页。
- [26] 《元史·洪福源传》卷一百五十三，第3627页。
- [27] 《元高丽纪事》，第5页。
- [28] 屠寄《蒙兀儿史记·札剌亦儿台传》卷三十八，中国书店，1984年，第323页。那珂通世《成吉思汗实录》卷十二，筑摩书房，昭和十八年（1943年）版，第553页。
- [29] 箭内互《蒙古の高丽经略》，第239—243页。
- [30] 《高丽史》卷二三，第347页。
- [31] 《元史·太宗本纪》卷二，第31页。
- [32] 《元史·高丽传》卷二百八，第4609页。
- [33] 《元史·洪福源传》卷一百五十三，第3627页。
- [34] 《高丽史》卷二三，第347页。
- [35] 池内宏《蒙古の高丽征伐》，第143页。
- [36] 李奎报《东国李相国集》卷二八，载《韩国文集丛刊》1，〔韩国〕景仁文化社，1990年，第589页。
- [37] 《高丽史》卷二三，第348—352页。
- [38] 《高丽史》卷一二九，第636页。
- [39] 《高丽史》卷二三，第347页。
- [40] 《高丽史》卷二三，第347—348页。
- [41] 池内宏《蒙古の高丽征伐》，第147页。
- [42] 《元史·太宗本纪》卷二，第32页。
- [43] 《元史·洪福源传》卷一百五十三，第3628页。
- [44] 《高丽史》卷二三，第352页。
- [45] 《高丽史》卷一百三，第219页。
- [46] 方东仁《丽元关系再检讨——以双城总管府与东宁府为中》，载金渭显编著、陈文寿校译《韩中关系研究论丛》，香港社会科学出版有限公司，2004年，第246页。

- [47]《元史·太宗本纪》卷二,第34页。
- [48]池内宏《蒙古の高丽征伐》,第157页。
- [49]《元史·太宗本纪》卷二,第37页。
- [50]《高丽史》卷二三,第357页。
- [51]池内宏《元寇の新研究》,东洋文库,昭和六年(1931年)八月版,第13页。
- [52]《高丽史》卷二三,第359页。
- [53]《元史·宪宗本纪》卷三,第46页。
- [54]《元史·宪宗本纪》卷三,第46页。
- [55]《元史·宪宗本纪》卷三,第47页。
- [56]《元史》卷一〇七,宗室世系表中所列拖雷十一子中未见到松柱这一名字,其中第三子和第五子失其名。池内宏认为松柱可能是拖雷第三子或第五子其中的一位,见《蒙古の高丽征伐》,第189页。这一问题有待进一步考证。
- [57]《高丽史》卷二四,第362页。
- [58]《元史·宪宗本纪》卷三,第47页。
- [59]《元史·宪宗本纪》卷三,第48—49页。
- [60]《元高丽纪事》,第15页。
- [61]池内宏《蒙古の高丽征伐》,第157页。
- [62]《高丽史》卷二四,第365页。
- [63]《高丽史》卷二四,第367页。
- [64]《元史·宪宗本纪》卷三,第51页。
- [65]《高丽史》卷二十五,第380页。
- [66]《高丽史》卷二十五,第380页。
- [67]《元史·世祖本纪》卷四,第63页。
- [68]《高丽史》卷二十五,第384页。

赵衍父子与耶律家族

——兼论元代的卢龙赵氏

刘 晓

耶律楚材为大蒙古国前期著名政治家,对其一生在政治、经济、文化方面的诸多成就,论者已多,但对于其家族与文人的交往,学者注意较少。王国维《耶律文正公年谱》与孙克宽《湛然居士文集中的中原儒士初考》是较早对此加以研究的论著^[1]。拙著《耶律楚材评传》(南京大学出版社,2001年)也曾专辟一章,对此进行过考察。不过,这方面的研究有待发覆之处仍有不少。这里,笔者拟对赵衍、赵天民父子与耶律家族的交往作一考察,最后对卢龙赵氏在元代的发展作一简单介绍。

赵衍,字昌龄,号西岩,平州(今河北卢龙)人^[2]。有关其家世与早年经历,元人王恽《西岩赵君文集序》有过详细交代:“西岩赵君,系出辽勋臣开府公后,遭时多故,家业中衰。西岩崛起吠畝,从龙山吕先生学。”又称:“捐馆后十五年,子天民携所著述《西岩集》见示,求引其端。”^[3]按,王恽文中所称“辽勋臣开府公”,当为辽初名臣赵思温(?—939年)。王恽另有《卢龙赵氏家传》,详细记载了赵思温生平及其家族的谱系,称赵思温在天显十二年(937年)，“进阶开府仪同三司兼侍中”^[4],这当是前面《西岩赵君文集序》所谓“辽勋臣开府公”的由来^[5]。在谈到赵思温次子时,《家传》又称:“次曰延祚,燕京留守、检校太师、开国公、食邑一千户。”其后夹行小注云:“十二世孙天民,辽阳省都事,今居平滦。”这样,赵天民的名字也把王恽的两处记载链接起来,使赵衍父子的家族背景更为明朗:即赵衍父子为赵思温次子延祚的后人,如果赵天民的辈分“十二世孙”是相对于延祚而言的话,那么,赵衍便应是赵思温的第十二世孙。至于前面提到的“龙山吕先生”,则指吕鲲。吕鲲字飞卿,号龙山居士,雁门人。与赵著齐名,同为金末北方名诗人。现存元人记载中,有不少处提到过二人,如鲜于枢《困学斋杂录》(四库全书本)云:

吕龙山与赵虎岩(虎岩为赵著号——引者注,以下同)齐名,平生多佳句。《夏日道中》

一绝句,曲尽田家夏日之趣:“枣花初落路尘香,燕掠麻池乍颀颀。一片云阴遮十顷,卖瓜棚下午风凉。”

王恽《玉唐嘉话》亦记二人一则趣闻:

又记吕逊尝谈:赵著、吕颀以诗鸣燕朔间,二人皆出耶律相门下。虎岩每得一联一咏,即提掷其帽于几。龙山从傍谓曰:“不知李、杜平时费多少帽子。”闻者为捧腹。^[6]

在《西岩赵君文集序》中,王恽对赵著、吕颀二人的文学成就评价很高:“惟虎岩、龙山二公挺英迈不凡之材,挟迈往凌云之气,用所学所得,偃然以风雅自居,视孝协律、赵渭南伯仲间也。雅为中书令耶律公(即耶律楚材)宾礼,至令其子双溪(即耶律铸)从之问学,由是赵吕之学自为燕蓟一派。”并提到:“西岩受业,适丁兹时,探究其渊源,沉浸乎醲郁,加以立志坚笃,讲肄不倦,宜绍传遗绪,最为知名士。”

赵衍曾在燕京刊行吕颀校订的《李贺歌诗编》,并撰有后序,此书后来收入《四部丛刊》初编,王国维为此书所作《蒙古刊李贺歌诗编跋》,确定此书出版之丙辰年应为蒙古宪宗六年(1256年),此说诚是^[7]。在后序中,赵衍详细谈到自己师从吕颀的经过及出书原委:

龙山先生为文章法六经,尚奇语,诗极精深,体备诸家,尤长于贺。浑源刘京叔(刘祁)为《龙山小集》叙云:《古漆井》、《苦夜长》等诗,雷翰林希颜(雷渊)、麻征君知几(麻九畴)诸公称之,以为全类李长吉(李贺)。乱后隐居海上,教授郡侯诸子,卑士先与余读贺诗,虽历历上口,于义理未晓。又从而开省之,然恨不能尽其传。及龙山入燕,吾友孙伯成从之学。余继起海上,朝夕侍侧垂十五年,诗之道颇得闻之。……双溪中书君(耶律铸)诗鸣于世,得贺最深。尝与龙山论诗及贺,出所藏旧本,乃司马温公物也,然亦不无少异。龙山因之校定,且曰:“喜贺者尚少,况其作者耶。”意欲刊行,以广其传,冀有知之者。会病不起,余与伯成绪其志而为之。此书行,学贺者多矣,未必不发自吾龙山也。

通过以上材料,我们不难看出,赵衍与耶律家族的关系,应是通过其师吕颀的渠道建立起来的。吕颀受知于耶律楚材,担任其子耶律铸的老师。作为吕颀弟子的赵衍,当然会有机会与耶律家族接触。以辽东丹人皇王后裔自诩的耶律楚材父子,对这位曾为辽朝立下殊勋的赵氏后人,自然也会另眼相待,或者说,三百年前双方祖先的君臣情结此时又萦绕心头。正是由于以上诸多因素,赵衍在来燕后,很快得以追随耶律铸左右,成为其门客。耶律铸《双溪醉隐集》卷3(知服斋丛书本)有《寄国范、昌龄》诗一首,即为其所作。

总道绸缪恩好在,断无人迹继芳踪。

情亲便合称三凤,友爱何妨号二龙。

莫为鬓丝抽思绪,不将学海淬辞锋。

绿波烟草滦阳渡,独倚危楼到下春。

此外,耶律铸的诗歌结集出版后,赵衍曾力邀当时的大文豪元好问为其作序^[8],而自甲寅年(1254年)起,赵衍又成为耶律家族的私塾先生,尽心尽力地教育耶律铸的儿子耶律希亮^[9]。

耶律楚材去世后,受耶律铸之邀,赵衍为耶律楚材撰写了行状。据宋子贞《中书令耶律公神道碑》:“既葬公七年,今丞相(即耶律铸)持进士赵衍状,以铭见属。”^[10]按,耶律楚材葬于中统二年(1261年)十月二十日,下葬第七年当为至元四年(1267年),赵衍所撰行状当在此期间完成,而且,这一行状还成为宋子贞撰写耶律楚材神道碑的主要素材。行状今已不存,苏天爵编《国朝名臣事略》(中华书局点校本作《元朝名臣事略》)卷5《耶律文正王》,曾引用过行状片断。一处曰:“诸路管府自为符印,僭越无度,公奏并仰中书省依式铸造,由是名器始重。”其后注明:“赵衍撰《行状》”。一处曰:“《行状》及汲郡王公《文集》云:太宗仁厚有余,言辞极寡,服御俭素,不尚华饰。委任大臣,略无疑贰。性颇乐饮。及御下听政,不易常度。当时政归台阁,朝野欢娱,前后十年,号称无事。”汲郡王公即前面提到的王恽,相应文字可见《秋涧集》卷44《杂著》:“太宗英文皇帝,天容晬表,一类释迦真像。仁厚有余,言辞极寡,服御俭素,不尚华饰。委任大臣,略无疑贰。性颇乐饮。及御下听政,不易常度。当时政归台阁,朝野欢娱。前后十年,号称廓廓无事。”揆之苏天爵文,王恽所述大部分内容已被概括进去,赵衍《行状》中的内容,大概与之相近。

赵衍的卒年没有明确记载。不过,前面提到的《西岩赵君文集序》是在赵衍“捐馆后十五年”由其子赵天民登门邀请王恽撰写的。由于王恽另外两篇与赵天民有关的作品均作于至元三十年(1293年)(见后),我很怀疑《西岩赵君文集序》也是该年所作。如果这种假设成立的话,那么,赵衍很有可能是在至元十五年(1278年)前后去世的。

二

赵衍之子赵天民,因其父的渊源,也与耶律家族有着较为密切的关系。据王恽《秋涧集》卷73《宋广平梅花赋后语》:

广平梅花赋,予尝闻双溪耶律公(耶律铸)求斯文久矣,得之者当以乘马相贶,愿见之心,与公略同。至元癸巳(1293年)春,予待诏阙下,秘书郎赵天民来谒。赵之父(即赵衍),故中书门客也,因询赋之隐见,曰:“已得之矣。”翌日,录似本来献。

赵天民任秘书郎的记载,亦可见《秘书监志》卷10《题名·秘书郎》(浙江古籍出版社点校本):“赵天民,至元二十七年(1290年)五月二十四日以承事郎上。”三年后,他转任辽阳行省左右司都事,除前面《卢龙赵氏家传》提到此事外,王恽还有《送赵都司秉彝赴辽东省幕》诗一首亦可证其事。

世味无馀徇，群居底事争。疾徐谁长者，衿拉到诸兄。
吾子方强仕，襟期最老成。喧闻乌乱集，歛听凤孤鸣。
行已谦而让，持心厚且诚。相看情款洽，有问对详明。
再世儒冠素，三年秘阁荣。以除遴所选，论省谅非轻。
营帐称强翰，天威想濯征。海澄鲸已戮，地旷物多萌。
望重官仪肃，民安吏务清。济时纷笔议，展用几书生。
抱志能兹念，流劳在此行。秩卑犹吏属，禄足代躬耕。
晓日滦江渡，秋风鹤野城。苍茫连渤海，控带本营平。
绿水开莲幕，青山送去程。宦游真衣锦，别思任悬旌。
有道开先世，孤标振直声。辽阳回首处，未用怆离情。^[11]

秉彝，应为赵天民的表字，诗中的“再世儒冠素”当是称赞赵衍、赵天民父子两代以儒术传家，“三年秘阁荣”则指赵天民担任过三年秘书郎（1290—1293年）而言。“营帐称强翰，天威想濯征。海澄鲸已戮，地旷物多萌”，指元朝刚刚平定乃颜、哈丹秃鲁干之乱（1287—1292年），辽阳行省局势还不十分稳定。“望重官仪肃，民安吏务清。济时纷笔议，展用几书生。抱志能兹念，流劳在此行”，则是王恽勉励赵天民的话，由此也可看出他对赵天民辽阳之行所寄予的厚望。

1998年9月，北京颐和园公园发现了耶律铸夫妇合葬墓，近年来，北京市文物研究所编《北京市文物研究所藏墓志拓片》（北京燕山出版社，2003年）与吴梦麟主编《北京文物精粹大系》“石刻卷”（北京出版社，2004年）均刊登了耶律铸夫妇的墓志拓片。其中，耶律铸的墓志中有“将葬，尚书公（耶律希亮）等使来请铭于天民”之语，这个天民，应该就是赵天民^[12]。鉴于赵衍父子与耶律家族的密切关系，既然父亲赵衍能为耶律楚材撰写行状，儿子赵天民为耶律铸撰写墓志，自然也属情理中事。

三

赵衍家族所在之卢龙赵氏，与韩、刘、马氏齐名，同为辽、金时期北方大族，代有显宦，时人“至比唐李、郑、崔、卢”^[13]。不过，这一家族在蒙金战争中遭到毁灭性打击。其中，“推延威特进府君第五房，一传而二，再传十二人，三传至廿八人，四传四十五人，五传而六十四，六传八十四，七传九十二，八传当建春府君（赵植），行群从数几满百，本支子侄廿有八。然遭壬辰丧乱，存者仅三人而已。”^[14]元代卢龙赵氏，据《家传》，其第二房除赵衍、赵天民父子外，尚有肥乡三务使赵咄，长房则有山北辽东道廉访使赵炳，第五房有两浙运司知事赵明，而尤以第五房赵穆留下的记载最多。

赵穆,字克敬,以行辈计,为赵思温十三世孙,与赵天民同辈。父赵铉,字仲器,据《家传》,赵铉“雅淡,喜读书,不乐仕进,邃易学,好古多巧思,音律、占筮咸谙其精妙。……晚节号钝轩逸皓,诸贤赠遗诗文无虑数百篇,尝于祖窠侧构亭为春秋莫祀所,承旨王文忠公(王磐)扁曰遗安,枢相商左山(商挺)为之记,其为名胜称赏若尔。”至今我们还能见到时人张之翰、滕安上等为其所作诗文^[15]。而据《家传》,赵穆“性纯孝,早传家学,善篆隶,以敏慧延誉播绅间,得从事翰林,出倅孟州,转邢台尹,超授承务、中山府判官。”到仁宗时,又先后担任过集贤司直、翰林待制等职^[16]。所为文今存《河阳李氏宅兆记》(至元三十年,1273年撰)^[17]。与赵穆诗文赠答的名人很多,像王恽《秋涧集》有《赵穆篆隶歌》(卷8)、《海燕蒲萄镜歌赠赵克敬》(卷11)、《送赵克敬判定武》(卷12)、《送赵克敬任孟州同知》(卷13)、《题赵克敬遗安亭》(卷30),程钜夫《雪楼集》有《赵克敬真赞》、《赵克敬二子字说》(卷23)、《赵克敬耘庵》(卷28),赵孟頫《松雪斋集》(四部丛刊初编本)有《赵克敬耘庵》(卷3),滕安上《东庵集》(四库全书本)有《赵克敬倅孟州》(卷1)等。有关其书法作品,则有赵凤仪《养源堂记》等。^[18]有感于家族谱牒在战乱中散佚,赵穆广泛搜集各类文献,撰成以第五房为主的卢龙赵氏族谱,王恽除撰写《卢龙赵氏家传》外,还有《题辽太师赵思温族系后》^[19]。此外,应邀为族谱作跋者尚有刘敏中、元明善、吴澄等名家^[20]。由于赵穆所撰族谱仅对第五房叙述较为详细,故不久又出现了自称系出第七房的赵子敬《长清赵氏述先录》以补其阙。不过,此录“述其父祖至曾祖止,以上不可考”,所谓第七房之说,乃赵子敬“闻之先人”,这样一来,其真实性不免大打折扣。吴澄曾应邀为《长清赵氏述先录》作跋,其中有曰:

辽始终二百年,所得中国之地燕山一道耳。卫公,辽之重臣,子孙世禄不绝,辽之未亡也,必无去其国而分适他国者。卢龙而长清,不知自何年始,其在金人有中土之后乎?盖不可详矣。夫文无所于稽,人无所于询。虽夫子不能以征杞宋之礼,况丧乱流离之余而推明一家之系乎?长清之赵,三世以医科济人,慈祥岂弟,而不规利。子敬为吏廉平,是皆有阴德阴功,宜足以昌其后。而子敬之子有方进进于学者,继自今,子子孙孙果能使才行闻于时,勋名见于世,自立自成,日大日衍,则长清一卢龙也。呜呼!由昔观今卢龙,信有光于长清。由后观前,安知长清不有光于卢龙也哉?^[21]

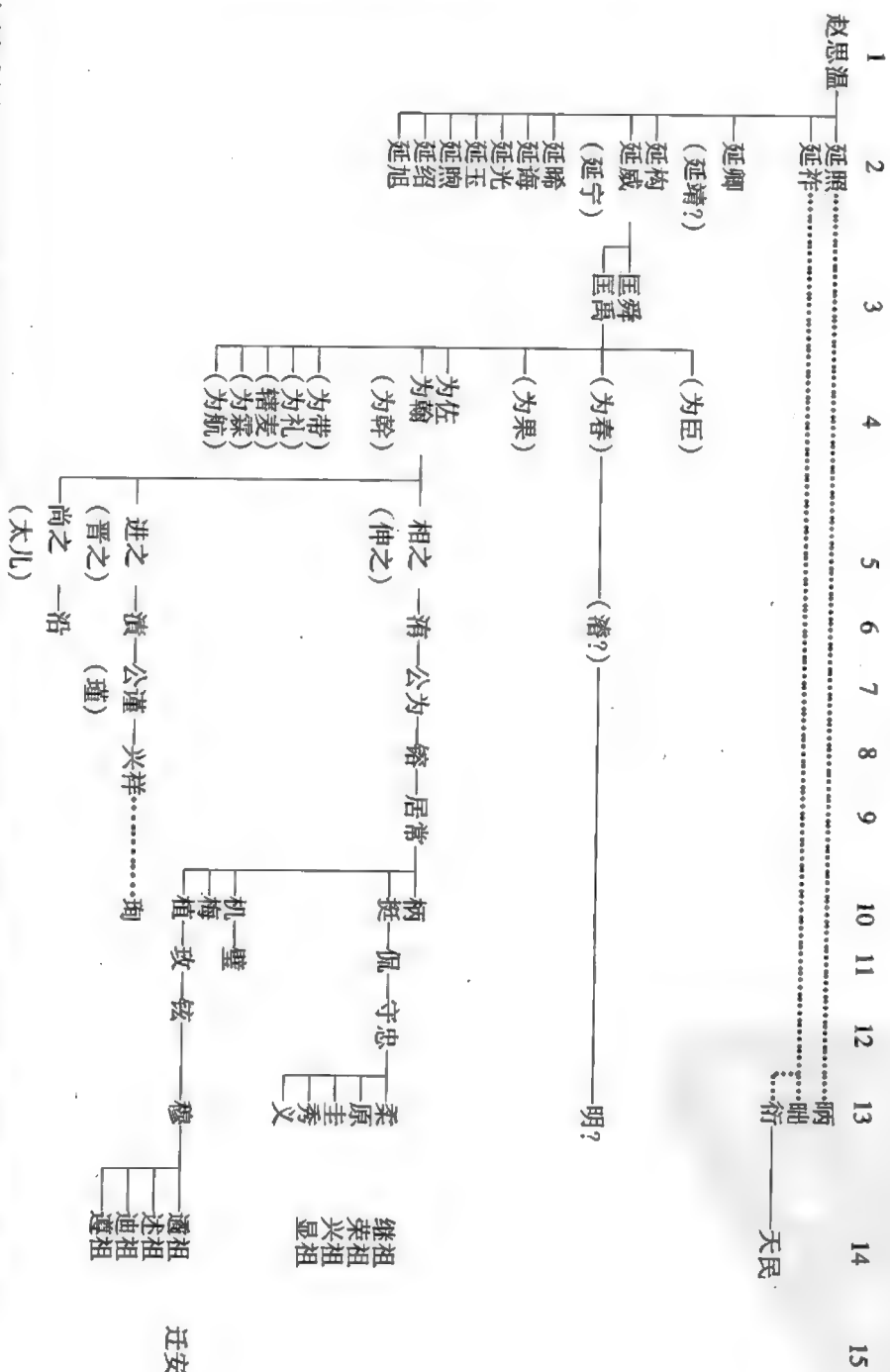
由此不难看出,吴澄对《长清赵氏述先录》的真实性也颇表怀疑。冒认祖宗以抬高自身地位的做法,自古有之,吴澄对此隐晦地表达了自己的不满,认为长清赵氏只要自强自立,不仅会像卢龙赵氏一样显名于世,而且还有可能超过后者。

其实,即使元人深信不疑的赵穆所撰族谱,其中记载也有不少可商之处。如《辽史》卷76《赵思温传》记赵思温有二子延照、延靖,而在王恽据赵穆谱系所撰之《卢龙赵氏家传》中,赵思温诸子有延照而无延靖,颇疑延靖当为《家传》中的延卿^[22]。目前出土的赵思温后人墓志,笔者所见主要有赵思温孙匡禹、匡禹子为幹墓志^[23],由于二人出自第五房,故也可与《家

传》相互比勘。其中赵匡禹,《家传》中为赵思温子延威子,而赵匡禹墓志记为赵思温子延宁子,延宁在《家传》所载赵思温诸子中并无其人,对照二人官爵,延威与延宁实应为同一人。赵为幹,《家传》记为赵为翰,“翰”当为与“幹”字形相近而讹,而且,赵为幹在赵匡禹墓志中记为第五子,而《家传》则记为第七子。赵为幹三子,墓志所记为伸之、晋之、太儿(小字),而《家传》所记则为相之、进之、尚之,其中长子有可能因字形,次子有可能因音近而讹写^[24]。再如,《家传》所载兴祥,《金史》卷91有传,称“六世祖思温,辽燕京留守,封天水郡王。父瑾,辽静江军节度使。”而据《家传》行辈计,赵思温应为兴祥八世祖,父瑾则名公瑾。

历史上所有显赫一时的大家族,终究会有衰落的一天,只不过时间有早有晚而已,卢龙赵氏自然也不例外。在历经辽、金三百余年的兴盛发展后,进入元代,卢龙赵氏子孙各支已散居四方,逐渐淹没于民族融合的洪流中,只剩下祖先的光辉业绩留给后人凭吊。

卢龙赵氏世系表



本表据《卢龙赵氏家传》制成，括弧中的名字，根据《赵匡墓志》、《赵为幹墓志》、《辽史》卷76《赵思温传》、《金史》卷91《赵兴祥传》等补。

注 释

- [1]前者见《王忠愍公遗书》内编,后收入谢方点校《湛然居士文集》,中华书局,1986年;后者见《大陆杂志》12—6(1956年),后收入作者《蒙古汉军与汉文化》,台湾文星书店,1958年。
- [2]《危太仆文续集》卷2《耶律公神道碑》(刘氏嘉业堂刊本)与《元史》卷180《耶律希亮传》(中华书局点校本)均称“北平赵衍(前者多昌龄二字)”,北平实际上即指平州。
- [3]《秋澗集》卷43,四部丛刊初编本。
- [4]《秋澗集》卷48。
- [5]另可参见《辽史》卷76《赵思温传》,中华书局点校本。
- [6]《秋澗集》卷93。
- [7]《观堂集林》附《观堂别集》卷3,中华书局影印本。
- [8]据元好问《遗山先生文集》(四部丛刊初编本)卷36《双溪集序》:“燕中文士张显卿、赵昌龄为予言:‘省寺宾客集今中令诗传于时,欲吾子为作序引,其有意乎?’”其中赵昌龄,即为赵衍。
- [9]《危太仆文续集》卷2《耶律公神道碑》,《元史》卷180《耶律希亮传》。
- [10]《国朝文类》卷57,四部丛刊初编本。
- [11]《秋澗集》卷12。
- [12]近蒙日本奈良大学森田宪司教授惠寄《13、14世纪东アジア史料通信》第1号,内有德永洋介执笔《〈耶律铸夫妻墓志铭〉录文と训读》,也认为耶律铸墓志的撰写者为赵天民。笔者所撰《耶律铸夫妇墓志札记》,见《暨南史学》第3辑,暨南大学出版社,2004年。
- [13]《秋澗集》卷48《卢龙赵氏家传》,相关表述亦可见《滋溪文稿》卷12《元故奉元路总管致仕工部尚书韩公神道碑铭》。有关韩、刘、马、赵等家族在辽代的发展情况,可见王明荪《辽代华北汉人四大家族之研究》,见《国科会计划报告论文》,1987年;萧启庆《汉人世家与边族政权——以辽朝燕京五大家族为中心》,见《宋史研究集》第27辑,台北,编译馆,1997年。此经北京大学历史系博士研究生康鹏提示,在此致谢。
- [14]《秋澗集》卷48《卢龙赵氏家传》。
- [15]《西岩集》卷17《钝轩逸皓赞》,《东庵集》卷4《赵钝轩七十寿》。
- [16]赵穆以后仕宦,见《雪楼集》卷13《承庆堂记》(皇庆元年,时为集贤司直),卷25《题凉国敏慧公画像》(延祐三年,时为翰林待制),陶氏涉园刻本;《陵川集》卷首中书省咨文(延祐五年,时为翰林待制),北京图书馆藏古籍珍本丛刊本。
- [17]乾隆《孟县志》卷8《河阳李氏宅兆记》,收入《全元文》第28册,第69—70页,凤凰出版社,2004年。
- [18]金柏东主编:《温州历代碑刻录》第43页,上海社会科学出版社,2002年。
- [19]《秋澗集》卷73。
- [20]《中庵集》卷10《题赵氏族谱后》,北京图书馆藏古籍珍本丛刊本;《国朝文类》卷29《跋卢龙赵氏

族谱后》，四部丛刊初编本；《吴文正公集》卷30《题卢龙赵氏世家谱后》，台湾元人文集珍本丛刊本。

[21]《吴文正公集》卷30《跋李清赵氏述先录》。

[22]萧启庆前揭文亦持此论。

[23]向南编：《辽代石刻文编》，第299—302、第219—221页，河北教育出版社，1995年。

[24]萧启庆前揭文因为幹、为翰排行不同，列为两人，并把为翰当作《赵匡禹墓志》中的为礼，以此相应，仲之、晋之、太儿与相之、进之、尚之亦非同一人，似有误。因为为幹、为翰除字型相近外，二人仕宦似也有相近之处。据《赵为幹墓志》，为幹曾任“使持节遂州诸军事、行遂州刺史”，而据《卢龙赵氏家传》，为翰“仕至保、遂州团练都统使”。

四卫拉特联盟的形成

青 格 力

历史上,匈奴、突厥、蒙古等游牧民族曾对内陆欧亚的历史进程产生过深远影响,而卫拉特(oyirad)^[1]是最后一个深刻影响内陆欧亚历史的游牧民族力量,有学者称其为“最后的游牧帝国”。因此,卫拉特历史的研究不仅对游牧民族历史本身,而且对整个内陆欧亚历史的研究都具有积极意义。

卫拉特,也称西部蒙古。卫拉特历史研究中“四卫拉特”(dörben oyirad)是一个重要的概念。历史文献中使用“四卫拉特”由来已久,卫拉特人的一些重要史书也往往冠以《四卫拉特历史》(dörben oyirad-un teuke)^[2]之名。对“四卫拉特”所包含的涵义,学术界至今莫衷一是。较有代表性的观点有:卫拉特四万户说^[3];四卫拉特联盟说^[4];卫拉特四个系统说^[5]等等。多数学者倾向于“四卫拉特联盟”这一观点,并认为其形成时间在15世纪中、14世纪末或更早的13世纪的成吉思汗时期等。笔者虽赞同“四卫拉特联盟”一说,但在四卫拉特联盟的起源以及性质问题上,却与以往的研究和观点有着完全不同的意见。笔者认为,所谓“四卫拉特”是16世纪80年代至17世纪初头,卫拉特诸部为了对抗喀尔喀部的攻击而组成的左翼军、右翼军、中央军和后卫军等军事组织的联盟。四卫拉特联盟在17世纪中叶与喀尔喀部达成和解后开始涣散,17世纪80年代绰尔斯部噶尔丹霸权的出现使四卫拉特联盟最终瓦解。关于四卫拉特联盟的组织形式以及演变过程,将有另文阐述。本文专就四卫拉特联盟形成的时间问题进行初步的探讨。

一些学者把四卫拉特联盟的起源追溯到15世纪或更早的时期,其根据是蒙古编年史,如1663年编成的《蒙古源流》(erdeni-yin tobči)、1650—1670年间编成的《黄金史》(Altan tobči)、17世纪初编成的《黄册》(sir-a turyūji)、1604—1627年间编成的《黄金史纲》(quriyangyui altan tobči)等等,其中记述早期卫拉特历史时都使用了“四卫拉特”一词。但这

些史书均成书于17世纪中期以后的东蒙古,且多属抄本。所以不能排除其在传抄过程中受到后世影响的可能性。例如,“四卫拉特”一词往往与盛行于东蒙古的社会组织单位的“万”(tümen)或“姓”(omoy/ oboy)等词形成联缀。然而在17—18世纪由卫拉特人所编写的,同样关系到16世纪以后卫拉特历史的史籍中“四卫拉特”一词却没有与“万”、“姓”等联缀的现象。可见,出现于东蒙古编年史中的“四卫拉特”,明显受到了东部蒙古社会组织因素的影响,因此不能以其直接证明“四卫拉特”的性质及其形成时间。所以,我们还要考虑形成部落联盟所必要的历史条件和社会、政治因素。游牧部落联盟,是指几个相对独立的部落在一定时期内,因共同的利益而结成的联合体。它与君主统治下的统一政权不同,联盟中的各个部落仍各有首领,首领之间是平等或同盟关系,由共同推选的联盟长协调部落间的合作,制定共同法规等是其重要特征。在考查“四卫拉特”联盟是否形成这一问题时,也应考虑是否具备上述特征和条件。

成吉思汗统一蒙古时期,整个蒙古高原处于战乱纷争之中,只有各部相互联合才能生存以维护自己的利益。当时的卫拉特被称为“林木中百姓”(qoi-yin irgen),由忽都合别乞(qu-tuqa beki)率领。拥有共同的领袖,说明“林木中百姓”已是个联合体。这一联合体先和弘吉刺等十一个部落结成联盟,与铁木真、王汗为敌。被击败后,忽都合别乞又与塔塔儿、乃蛮、泰亦赤兀惕和其它许多部落结盟,共推札答阑部札木合为联盟长——“古儿罕”,也被铁木真击溃^[6]。后来卫拉特再次与乃蛮等部落结成联盟,复与铁木真战,也以失败告终。1207年,忽都合别乞率众卫拉特降成吉思汗,卫拉特成为蒙古帝国的一员。并保留其原领地和属民,仍由忽都合别乞统辖^[7]。忽都合别乞家族得到了世代与成吉思汗黄金家族联姻的特殊荣耀^[8]。据《史集》记载,当时卫拉特共有“四个千户”^[9]。有学者认为“四卫拉特”一词便来源于此。由于缺乏史料,我们对蒙元时期的卫拉特诸部落成员及其社会状况知之甚少。只知道在忽必烈与阿里不哥争夺王位时期(1260—1264),卫拉特支持了阿里不哥^[10];后在海都反对忽必烈时(1268),也有很多卫拉特人站在海都一边。此外,在察合台汗国、伊儿汗国、钦察汗国都有卫拉特将领和军队^[11]。这一时期的卫拉特分属蒙元皇帝和诸王管辖,并非是一个独立的政治势力,因而不具有形成联盟或军事组织的历史条件。

1368年元朝被推翻后,元政权退回蒙古高原,以后元时代而继续存在。但大元帝国的威严已经逝去,王权名存实亡,权臣贵族势力取代可汗,意欲独立或各自为政。卫拉特也趁机与阿里不哥裔也速迭儿合谋杀害了脱古思帖木儿汗(usqai qaan, 1378—1388在位)^[12]。东蒙古编年史的记载似乎表明,在元亡之后的14世纪末或15世纪初期,已经出现四卫拉特。相关记载有两种:一、综合《黄册》和《蒙古源流》,在元裔额勒伯克汗(elbeg nigulesugči qaan, 1394—1399在位)时代,由绰罗斯部(čorus)^[13]浩海太尉(quuqai tayu)统领四卫拉特(dörben oyirad)。后浩海太尉遭额勒伯克汗错杀,其子巴图拉丞相授汗命管辖四卫拉特。古呀讷古

特(kerenügüd)部乌格齐哈什哈(ügeci qasaq-a)对此大为不满,说“杀我臣浩海,知有我在,竟令我所属之巴图拉领四部耶?”于是,乌格齐哈什哈擒杀了额勒伯克汗。约在1415年,乌格齐哈什哈子额塞奎(esekü)又杀死了巴图拉丞相^[14]。二、《蒙古黄金史》及《蒙古黄金史纲》的记载略有不同,综述如下:额勒伯克汗错杀浩海太尉之后,命其子巴图拉丞相与乌格齐哈什哈共治四卫拉特。而巴图拉丞相与乌格齐哈什哈擒杀了额勒伯克汗,率四卫拉特叛离^[15]。

我们姑且不考虑文献记述之间的差异,可得到的明确信息是:乌格齐哈什哈在巴图拉之前曾统领过卫拉特。据《蒙古源流》载乌格齐哈什哈之言,浩海为乌格齐哈什哈属下,卫拉特属乌格齐哈什哈统辖。额勒伯克汗令巴图拉管辖四卫拉特,表明可汗有权任命卫拉特统领,他无疑是想继用元朝委派地方官的权力。乌格齐哈什哈很可能是元朝时期被任命的卫拉特领主。元亡后,卫拉特仍由他统领。他参与杀害脱古思帖木儿汗,后又消灭额勒伯克汗,使卫拉特与元王室之间的臣属关系彻底被打破。卫拉特也就在额勒伯克汗时代脱离了元裔王室的统辖。清修《明史·瓦剌传》称:“瓦剌,蒙古部落也,在鞑靼西。元亡,其强臣猛可帖木儿据之。”

额勒伯克汗之后,坤帖木儿(kun temür qaan,1399—1402年在位)为蒙古可汗。研究者一般认为,猛可帖木儿与蒙古文史料所记载的乌格齐哈什哈同属一人^[16]。这就表明,这一时期的卫拉特是隶属于乌格齐哈什哈的控制。《明实录》建文二年(1400)二月癸丑条载:“谍报胡寇将侵边,上遣书谕鞑靼可汗坤帖木儿,并谕瓦剌王猛哥帖木儿等,晓以祸福。”可知明朝同等对待猛可帖木儿和蒙古正统可汗坤帖木儿,分别遣书晓谕。与东蒙古可汗一样,猛可帖木儿(即乌格齐哈什哈)统治着卫拉特,证明卫拉特是猛可帖木儿强权统治之下的统一体,而不是一个联盟。随着猛可帖木儿统治的结束,卫拉特亦迅速分裂。《明史·瓦剌传》记载:“(猛可帖木儿)死,众分为三,其渠曰马哈木,曰太平,曰把秃孛罗。”马哈木(mahmud)属绰尔斯无疑,太平(taying)和把秃孛罗(batubolod)所属不太确定,三部势力结成了联盟。猛可帖木儿的霸权很可能遭到这一联合势力的反对而被消灭。这一联盟在《明实录》中的第一次出现是在1403年的8月,明廷向三位首领派去了使者^[17]。坤帖木儿之后,东蒙古权臣阿速部阿鲁台太师拥立“非元裔”的鬼力赤为蒙古可汗,卫拉特联盟与之对立,双方多次交战^[18]。1407年明廷得到消息,东蒙古“鬼力赤为部下所废,其众欲立本雅失里。”本雅失里(öljei temür),额勒伯克汗之子,当时流亡撒马尔罕。马哈木、太平、把秃孛罗联盟开始与本雅失里及其拥立者阿鲁台等对抗。1409年,明廷封马哈木为顺宁王,太平为贤义王,把秃孛罗为安乐王^[19],协助卫拉特攻击阿鲁台等东部势力。1412年,马哈木、太平、把秃孛罗联盟消灭了本雅失里,阿鲁台败走,立答里巴(delbeg)为蒙古新主。此时,明成祖对卫拉特势力的态度由支持转为扼制和削弱其力量,经两次征战,1414年击溃了马哈木、太平、把秃孛罗势

力。1415年马哈木死,其子脱欢(*toyon*)相继杀太平、把秃孛罗,三部联盟被统一。脱欢意在统一卫拉特后,欲彻底清除东蒙古贵族势力,进而统一整个蒙古。1434年他杀死阿鲁台,立元王室后裔脱脱不花为可汗,自封太师,大大削弱了东蒙古贵族势力。1440年脱欢死,子也先(*esen*)继父位。脱欢父子的目标不止于卫拉特的联合和统一,而是要实现包括东蒙古部分贵族和兀良哈三卫等势力在内的更广泛的联合和统一。西自巴尔喀什湖一带伊斯兰化或突厥化的蒙古系部族,东至朝鲜;北起贝加尔湖,南迄长城的整个部族都成为其征伐的目标。也先势如破竹般不断向东西扩张,继而又把目标指向了明朝。在1449年的土木战役中,也先以少胜多并俘虏了明英宗^[20]。1453年也先用计,杀掉与之联合的阿噶巴尔济济农等东蒙古强臣,自封为可汗,独揽蒙古大权,最终实现了蒙古高原的统一。但这种以武力手段达到的统一,因缺乏其应有的政治和经济基础,在也先称汗的同时庞大帝国的内部即出现了分裂。1454年,随着他与部下阿剌知院发生冲突并遭擒杀,帝国瞬间崩溃。

可见,除了马哈木、太平、把秃孛罗三位首领暂时的联合之外,直到也先时代未曾有过真正意义上的卫拉特联盟,所谓的四卫拉特联盟就更谈不上了。继也先之后,虽有阿失帖木儿和克舍等残存势力与政局混乱的东蒙古对峙,但卫拉特已如同散沙,难有作为了。《明史·瓦剌传》提到:“自也先死,瓦剌衰,部属分散,其承袭代次不可考。”

15世纪70—80年代,达延汗(1470—1543)即位并统一东蒙古后,摄政满都海彻辰夫人随即征服了卫拉特。卫拉特完全失去与东蒙古抗衡的力量,逐渐西迁,分散在东至坤奎、札布罕河以东一带,西至额尔齐斯河、伊犁河谷,北至唐奴山、叶尼塞河上游,南抵哈密北山的广阔区域。直到16世纪30年代,卫拉特一些部落首领除与相邻的东蒙古右翼三万户首领小有战端外,再也没有出现过影响到东蒙古局势的联合行动。说明这时期的卫拉特诸部处于各自独立、互不附属、没有联盟的相对平稳状态。在中亚地区,卫拉特虽然仍是很强的势力,也经常发动一些战争^[21],但其规模较小,不足以促成卫拉特诸部的联合和统一。

二

1542年,达延汗之孙土默特部阿勒坦汗(*altan qaan* 俺答汗,1507—1581)成为东蒙古右翼三万户的统辖者。1552年起阿勒坦汗及其右翼势力大举深入到卫拉特腹地,开始了对卫拉特的多次征服战争。对此《阿勒坦汗传》(*erdeni tunumal neretü sudur orusiba*)、《蒙古源流》都有记载。

1552年,阿勒坦汗远征卫拉特,在控奎(*könggei*)、札布罕(*jabqan*)攻击奈曼明安辉特(*nayman mingyatu qoyid*)部,杀死其首领之一玛尼明阿图,俘其妻儿,占领了和宁(*qonin* 和林)(《蒙古源流》69b)。

1558年,阿勒坦汗由折拉曼罕(*jalaman qan*)山进攻辉特部之一郭林明安,在巴颜喀喇击败奥奇热太师。进而越过克奎罕(*kokei qan*)山,败额鲁特(*ögeled*)和巴噶图特(*bayatud*)二部首领博图海太师、翁辉青桑等。班师途中在折拉曼罕山一带降服奇喇古特(*kirγud*)部首领济格根阿哈,并与之联姻(《阿拉坦汗传》11b—12a)。

1562年,阿勒坦汗曾孙库图克台彻辰鸿台吉(*quturytai sečen qung tayiji*)再次引军深入卫拉特,在额尔齐斯(*ercis*)河畔袭击土尔扈特(*torγayud*)部,杀其首领喀喇博郭罗,使土尔扈特部只剩半数人马。彻辰洪台吉军又掳掠西鲁毕斯(*šilbis*)和土尔扈特的部分人口后返回(《蒙古源流》70a)。

1568年,阿勒坦汗复征卫拉特,由阿尔泰山进兀达图图木(*uuda tutum*)地方,接受了奇喇古特部济格根阿哈的觐见。在巴克(*bay*)地方,出身奇喇古特部的钟格夫人生一子,阿勒坦汗为之取名布达失力(*budaširi*),并宣布将卫拉特分封给布达失力。卫拉特被称作“卫拉特万户”(*oyirod tümen*)(《阿拉坦汗传》12b—13a)。

1574年,布延巴图尔洪台吉兄弟率鄂尔多斯兵出击卫拉特,在杭爱(*qangyay*)山之阳大败以额色勒贝奇雅为首的奈曼明安辉特部。同时,远征脱忽麻(*toymay*)的库图克台彻辰洪台吉也与之相呼应,凯旋途中从巴里坤(*bars köl*)转而向北,在折拉曼罕山后攻巴噶图特部。其子鄂勒哲伊勒都齐追击巴加拉西哥青统领的绰罗斯(*čoryas*)部杜尔伯特奥托克(*dörbed otuy*)三个月之久,最后在唐努乌梁海地方之图巴罕罕(*tobqan qan*)山阳掳掠他们之后返回(《蒙古源流》71a)。

我们注意到,阿勒坦汗逐一击败了辉特部、额鲁特、巴噶图特、西鲁毕斯、奇喇古特、土尔扈特部和绰罗斯部杜尔伯特奥托克等部落。这些部落中除了杜尔伯特可能依附于绰罗斯之外,其余都是单独出现而被阿勒坦汗所征服,他们并没有联合起来进行防御或对抗来自东部的打击。很显然,当时的卫拉特不是一个统一的卫拉特,也没有具备联合抵制外来攻击的机制。面对阿勒坦汗的进攻,卫拉特没有能联合起来,也就没有组成四卫拉特联盟。

在史料方面,最值得关注的是《阿勒坦汗传》。这部传记中记载了阿勒坦汗以及东蒙古右翼势力对卫拉特发动的战争。此传写成于阿勒坦汗死后仅30余年,惟有孤本传世,史料价值极高。它与前述东蒙古史籍之间的一个明显的不同之处是:《阿勒坦汗传》中虽有“卫拉特”(*oyirad*, 93节、99节、102节、248节)、“卫拉特·乌鲁斯”(*oyirad ulus*, 103节、253节)、“卫拉特·图们”(*oyirad tümen*, 90节、253节)等指称,但不见“四卫拉特”(*dörben oyirad*)之称。“卫拉特”或“卫拉特·乌鲁斯”泛指卫拉特人,可能是阿勒坦汗征服以前对卫拉特的称呼,而“卫拉特·图们”即卫拉特万户之称,显然是与阿勒坦汗将卫拉特分封给布达失力,纳入右翼万户体系有关。说明当时确无“四卫拉特”这一称呼,也是四卫拉特联盟不曾存在的一个有力佐证。这亦与明代的各种汉文史料无“四卫拉特”相互印证。

在阿勒坦汗征服卫拉特的战争中,和硕特以外的其它卫拉特部落都遭受了不同程度的打击。其中以辉特、额鲁特、巴噶图特等受到的打击最为沉重,势力被大大削弱。另外,由于卫拉特被纳入东蒙古右翼万户组织,有了共同的宗主,从而使一直处在分散状态的卫拉特形式上归并于统一的管辖之下。

三

1574年以后,东蒙古右翼势力停止了对卫拉特的征讨,表明卫拉特已经依附于阿勒坦汗。但是,1582年阿勒坦汗之死以及随后的东蒙古右翼政局的变化,使卫拉特又很快摆脱了东蒙古的控制。特别是1585年,布达失力在与扯里格争夺王位继承权失败后,事实上也失去了统辖卫拉特的权力。继之而来的是喀尔喀部对卫拉特的征伐。喀尔喀部是达延汗幼子格呀森札札賚尔后裔。格呀森札札賚尔有洪台吉称号。他死后,七子分得家产,各为首领,统称喀尔喀七部。东蒙古土默特右翼势力对卫拉特的统治终止后,喀尔喀趁机向卫拉特发动了进攻,其目的是将卫拉特纳入其控制之下。

格呀森札札賚尔第三子的后裔阿巴岱赛因汗(*abatai sayin qaan*, 1554—1589)越过控奎、札布罕,在科布科尔克日雅(*Köbkür keriy-e*)击杀了和硕特部首领哈尼诺延洪郭尔后,遣其子苏布岱(*Sobodai*, 1573—?)为卫拉特的新主^[22]。有关阿巴岱汗发动这场战争的具体年代,史料没有明确记载。谢·那楚克道尔吉将其误定为1577年^[23]。因为,哈尼诺延洪郭尔的第五子顾实汗生于1582年,第六子色棱哈坦巴图尔的生年虽不详,但至少应该在1583年以后。所以,哈尼诺延洪郭尔战死的时间自然也在这年以后了。或者说,是在1583年至击杀他的阿巴岱汗死去的1589年之间。冈田英弘认为是在明万历(1573—1619)前十年的后期^[24],也不完全符合这个条件。如果要考虑1581年阿勒坦汗死后土默特右翼的政治局势,那么应该在布达失力争夺王位失败,东蒙古对卫拉特控制中断后的1585年到阿巴岱汗死去的1589年之间更为恰当。阿巴岱汗死后,卫拉特人立刻擒杀了坐镇卫拉特的苏布岱汗,废弃了喀尔喀的宗主权。史料没有提供苏布岱汗被杀的具体时间,但不会与阿巴岱汗死去的1589年相隔太远。《宝贝念珠》(*erdeni-yin erike*)载:“赛因汗一去世,卫拉特人就擒杀了苏布岱汗并叛逆了。”^[25]

喀尔喀众多首领之一阿巴岱汗进攻卫拉特,这与他与阿勒坦汗之间的特殊关系有关。香巴著《阿萨拉克奇史》(*asarayçi neretti-yin tetike*)记载阿巴岱汗从十四岁开始直到二十七岁(也就是1567—1581年之间)的多数时间都在征伐,并且打败了敌人,被尊奉为“土谢图汗”^[26]。《额尔德尼召寺志》(*erdeni jou-yin tetike*)记载他十五岁(1568年)开始征战,并称他所进行的是统一喀尔喀部的战争^[27]。十四、十五岁便开始进行征服战争似有夸大之嫌。

1568 年左右是阿勒坦汗第二次征服卫拉特的时期,喀尔喀部不可能不受到影响。所谓十四、十五岁的阿巴岱汗参加的战争,指的应该是阿勒坦汗对卫拉特的战事。和田清曾推测,阿巴岱汗的父亲诺诺和协助 1552 年的阿勒坦汗对卫拉特的第一次征服战争^[28]。而 1568 年,由其子协助阿勒坦汗也是自然可以理解的。阿巴岱汗在宗教信仰方面所表现出对阿勒坦汗的追随也很能说明问题。当他得知阿拉坦汗处有高僧宣教时,立即派使者前往,请求阿勒坦汗也给他派一位宣教师。已是生命垂危的阿勒坦汗执意召见使者,并指示其身边的高僧果芒囊索前往。召见使者后的第七天,阿勒坦汗死去。阿勒坦汗和阿巴岱汗之间有着密切的关系,这一点毫无疑问。由此可以推测,阿巴岱汗积极协助了阿勒坦汗对卫拉特的征服战争,而阿勒坦汗也对其统一喀尔喀各部的行动给予支持,使阿巴岱汗得到了喀尔喀诸部的领导地位。阿巴岱汗对卫拉特的征讨,与他和阿勒坦汗的这种特殊关系密不可分。实际上他是试图效仿阿勒坦汗,继续推进东蒙古对卫拉特的征服和统治。他在征服卫拉特后宣称“报了‘三十三名结飘带,四十四名插羽翎,六十一名擎旗子’[被杀]之仇”^[29]。根据《黄金史纲》,这指的是 1453 年也先设宴计杀阿噶巴尔济济农一事^[30]。阿巴岱汗完全以东蒙古的代表自居,报了百多年的夙仇。而这也曾被阿勒坦汗当作征讨卫拉特的理由^[31]。

阿巴岱汗采取首先袭击和硕特部的策略,旨在给卫拉特有效的打击。因为和硕特是唯一没有遭到阿勒坦汗打击,且管辖着整个卫拉特的部落。和硕特部未能组织有效抵抗,首领哈尼诺延洪郭尔被击杀。这除了阿巴岱汗实力强大的因素外,也与卫拉特内部仍没有形成有效的防御机制有关。即此时的卫拉特虽然被统一管辖,但仍然没有真正意义上的一致性或联合机制。另一方面,这种统一的管辖,给以后卫拉特真正的联合创造了条件。

继苏布岱汗之后继续对卫拉特进行征讨的是赛瑚儿汗(layiqur qaan, 1562—?)。他是格呼森札札赉尔的长子阿什海之孙。赛瑚儿汗的长子素巴第后来成为喀尔喀第一位札萨克图汗。根据史料,赛瑚儿汗成功地征服了卫拉特人。帕拉斯在《蒙古历史资料汇编》中记载:“在多次战争中,卫拉特诸部败北,蒙古赛瑚儿汗占了上风,卫拉特诸部不得不承认蒙古汗的统治地位,并不得不向他纳贡赋税。”^[32]卫拉特承认赛瑚儿汗统治地位的年代不很清楚。根据《乌巴什浑台吉传说》(ubasi qung tayiji-yin domoy),赛瑚儿汗是渡过额尔齐斯河下游玛尼图渡口到达叶密立(emil)河岸的一个叫夏刺胡鲁孙(sira qulusun)的地方,与四卫拉特对阵时达成了停战和约^[33]。五世达赖《西藏王臣记》(Bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo' i glu db-yangs)提到了和硕特部顾实汗独身前往与喀尔喀人进行和谈并取得成功,受到喀尔喀首领和宣教高僧们的嘉奖,被授予“大顾实”称号一事^[34]。从益希班觉《如意宝树》(dpag bsam ljon bzang)年表中可知道这是 1606 年的事^[35]。从和解的结果上看,这与夏刺胡鲁孙和约应该是同一件事^[36]。从喀尔喀方面的满意度看,卫拉特可能做出了较大的让步。这与“卫拉特诸部不得不承认蒙古汗的统治地位”一致。可以认为,卫拉特承认赛瑚儿汗统领的时间也

应是在1606年。

这次的合约,是卫拉特历史上的一大事件。自阿巴岱汗开始,喀尔喀多次发兵攻击卫拉特,卫拉特始终十分被动。而到此时,即使喀尔喀同意与卫拉特达成和解,说明卫拉特已有了一定的展开对外交涉的力量。但喀尔喀仍处在强盛时期,卫拉特承认向赉瑚儿汗“纳贡赋税”是为了避免遭受更大的损失。即使是这样的妥协,对卫拉特来说也是个重大的转折。史料并没有像阿勒坦汗和阿巴岱汗时期的战争那样提及卫拉特的某个具体部落,表明与喀尔喀交涉的不再是某一个部落。这就意味着卫拉特内部已趋于合作或联合。顾实汗的出面调解,也在暗示和硕特部已开始发挥其在卫拉特诸部中的主导作用。

赉瑚儿汗可能在1606年的合约之后不久死去。卫拉特自然也就废除了喀尔喀的宗主权。1608年左右,赉瑚儿汗的弟弟图们达拉岱青之子硕垒乌巴什(*soloi ubasi*, 1567—1623)开始了对卫拉特的征服。硕垒乌巴什在蒙古文史料中经常以“乌巴什浑台吉”(*ubasi qung tayiji*)之称号出现,而俄罗斯档案文书中称其为“阿勒坦汗”(Алтын царь),后又有两代以此作为称号。第二代的穆赫尔玛吉克(*muqur majiy*, 又称俄木布额喀尔德尼 *ombu царь*)在给俄罗斯的书信中自称“*altan nom-un kürdün-i orciyurçi erdeni qayan*”(转动金法轮额尔德尼汗)^[37],显然仿效了土默特阿勒坦汗的称号“*čakarvarti altan nom-un qayan*”(察克喇瓦尔第‘转轮’阿拉坦法王)。实际上赉瑚儿汗原是隶属喀尔喀右翼札萨克图汗的一个部落首领而已,对喀尔喀七部并没有什么权威可言。因而他的“阿勒坦汗”称号可能是针对卫拉特的宗主权而言的。1620年,以绰尔斯部哈刺忽喇和土尔扈特部墨尔根特穆纳为首的卫拉特联军向硕垒乌巴什发动反击。硕垒乌巴什成功击溃此次进攻并迫使众卫拉特向伊希姆(*ishim*)及托博尔(*tobol*)河上游和额尔齐斯河下游及鄂毕(*ob*)河附近转移^[38]。1623年,硕垒乌巴什联合乌梁海(*uriyangqai*)部首领赛因玛吉克,发兵八万,出杭爱山之哈刺布拉克,欲在额尔齐斯河玛尼图渡口附近突袭卫拉特。然而卫拉特三万六千人早已严阵以待,硕垒乌巴什兵败身死。描绘这一战争的是著名的《乌巴什浑台吉传说》。硕垒乌巴什子第二代阿拉坦汗穆赫尔玛吉克率大军前来复仇,掳掠财物无数。卫拉特全体首领遂商讨对策,用辉特部额斯勒拜赛因卡(*eselbei-yin sayin ka*)之计,以臣服纳贡为名暗藏五千勇士于箱内,使两千五百骆驼驮往喀尔喀。兵至,活捉穆赫尔玛吉克,迫使其许下世代不再攻击卫拉特的诺言^[39]。持续半个多世纪的卫拉特与喀尔喀战争至此结束。

四

值得注意的是,1606年缔结停战和约以后的卫拉特的一些变化。在1606年所出现的合作或联合态势以及和硕特的主导作用,1610年代中更趋明朗和突出了。卫拉特史料提供了

重要的线索。噶班沙喇布著《四卫拉特史》记载：

拜巴噶斯从查罕诺敏汗那里听取了有情器世间坏灭的道理,心生无常之根,决心出家当一名学僧(比丘)。那时,卫拉特人的缰绳掌握在拜巴噶斯的手中。众蒙古[诺颜]说:“他独自一人当学僧福分大?抑或我们各家出一子当学僧福分大?”让查罕诺敏汗选择。当回答是“众人福分大”时,达赖太师一子,哈喇忽喇一子,额尔勒克罗布藏一子,拜巴噶斯认胡图克图为子,昆都仑乌巴什一子,楚瑚尔一子,替拜巴噶斯当了学僧……^[40]

同样的内容在巴图尔·乌巴什·图们所著《四卫拉特史》中也能看到^[41]。拜巴噶斯认胡图克图为义子,此“胡图克图”即卫拉特著名高僧咱雅班迪达(zay-a bandida)。他的个人传记证实了这一史实发生在1616年。《咱雅班迪达传》(rabjimba zay-a bandida-yin tuyuji saran-u gerel kemegdekü orusiba)称:

活佛(咱雅班迪达)转世于土猪年(1599)。以车臣汗之父诺颜拜巴噶斯巴图尔为首的四卫拉特全体诺颜许愿说:‘各自送一子弟当学僧(班第)吧。’于是,其他诺颜们送子做学僧时,拜巴噶斯巴图尔诺颜说:‘替我儿子当学僧吧!’就这样,十七岁(1616)时,从曼殊室利胡图克图处受戒,当了学僧。^[42]

通过这一历史事件,我们可以发现卫拉特的一些变化。

(一)卫拉特已有了共同的统帅,即联盟长。

《四卫拉特史》称“那时,卫拉特人的缰绳掌握在拜巴噶斯的手中”,表明和硕特部首领拜巴噶斯已是卫拉特的统领。拜巴噶斯除具有“台吉”、“诺颜”等一般性称呼和表示其勇敢的“巴图尔”称号之外又被称作“汗”。但人们习惯称其为“拜巴噶斯巴图尔”,表示他在战争等方面具有的才能或勇敢^[43]。

根据乾隆《蒙古回部王公表传》卷八十一、祁韵士《皇朝藩部要略》卷九等记载,和硕特首领任卫拉特汗是从拜巴噶斯祖父博贝密尔咱开始的。博贝密尔咱之后由其子哈尼诺颜洪果尔,即拜巴噶斯之父继任。和硕特享有汗位及其继承权,可能有以下的特殊条件和背景。

首先,卫拉特各部当中和硕特实力最强。据《乌巴什浑台吉传说》,约在1623年发生的与喀尔喀部的战役中,卫拉特各部所参加的兵力分别为都尔伯特两千人,辉特四千人,准噶尔六千人,土尔扈特八千人,和硕特一万六千人^[44]。和硕特与卫拉特其它部落间的实力差距如此之大,与其未受土默特阿勒坦汗的攻击有关。当卫拉特建立同盟关系时,相对强大的和硕特便自然居于核心位置。

其次,最初的汗位,可能与阿勒坦汗经营卫拉特的策略有关。如前所述,哈尼诺颜洪果尔是在1583—1589年间被阿巴岱汗所杀,因而其父博贝密尔咱称卫拉特汗的时间应该在稍早的1580年代以前的一段时间。而这一时期是卫拉特屈从于阿勒坦汗的征服,被分封给布

达失力的时期。因此卫拉特不可能自立其统领,博贝密尔咱更不可能自封“汗”号。很显然,博贝密尔咱的汗位,只能由阿勒坦汗任命。很可能是在1568年,阿勒坦汗将卫拉特宗主权交给其幼子布达失力时,从卫拉特诸部首领中选一人为卫拉特统领,此人便是和硕特部首领博贝密尔咱。因为博贝密尔咱为成吉思汗弟弟哈萨尔后裔,与阿勒坦汗同出成吉思汗血统,姓孛儿只斤(*borjigin*)氏。阿勒坦汗选择一个与其血缘相同的首领来象征其权威和协助布达失力统领卫拉特,既合情合理,又完全吻合史实时间。这也是《蒙古回部王公表传》等汉文史籍之所以称“博贝密尔咱、始称卫拉特汗”的理由。这自然也说明了阿勒坦汗征服卫拉特时,为什么唯独和硕特部没有受到打击的原因。但是,卫拉特诸部似乎并没有承认博贝密尔咱的统领者地位,因为在卫拉特史料中不见博贝密尔咱被称作“汗”的记载。

哈尼诺颜洪果尔继承了其父亲的卫拉特汗位,可能也得到阿勒坦汗方面的任命和支持。卫拉特史料中“诺颜洪果尔”(noyon xongyor)、“和硕特汗洪果尔”(qosiyud qayan qongyor)、“汗诺颜洪果尔”(xān noyon xongyor)等不同称号交替出现。因为他和他父亲一样都是东蒙古的代理人,所以最初也没有被卫拉特所认可,只被称作“诺颜洪果尔”、“和硕特汗洪果尔”等。但是,阿勒坦汗势力对卫拉特的控制结束后,喀尔喀部阿巴岱汗把整个卫拉特当作征服目标,和硕特也成为其攻击的对象,因而哈尼诺颜洪果尔也抵抗了喀尔喀部的征讨。史料没有明确记载这一冲突持续了多久,哈尼诺颜洪果尔最终死在了沙场。他抵抗喀尔喀的举动无疑与其它众多卫拉特部的利益是一致的,因而卫拉特诸部认可了他,始称他“汗诺颜洪果尔”。他是自也先以来第一位得到卫拉特诸部公认的汗王,也是卫拉特开始结成同盟的象征,而他的继承者拜巴噶斯被称为第二位四卫拉特汗。《蒙古溯源史》(*mongyol-un uy eki-yin teuke*)明确记载:

四卫拉特选举第二次即位人时,经全体蒙古台吉商讨,诺颜洪果尔之子拜巴噶斯者被推举为四卫拉特汗,并以拜巴噶斯诺颜呼图克图著称。^[45]

与其父亲和祖父不同,拜巴噶斯是全体卫拉特台吉共同推举的第一个汗诺颜,是卫拉特联盟的盟长。虽然汗的权威只限于组织和协调各部落的合作和安全保障以及对外关系等方面,但能够保持部落联盟的稳定,与掌握“缰绳”的汗作用实无大别。

(二)已组成了诸多部落参与的四卫拉特军事联盟。

在代替拜巴噶斯送一子当学僧这件事情上,各部首领采取了一致行动,表现出了空前的凝聚力,表明卫拉特诸部已经结成联合。据《咱雅班迪达传》记载,这次的行动包括了“四卫拉特全体诺颜”,根据《蒙古古史明鉴》(*Mongyol nutuy-un uridaqi-ača ekilegsen toil bičig*),送子当学僧的卫拉特各部首领人数达三十二位^[46];无疑涵盖了卫拉特大小众多部落的首领。值得注意的是史料共称他们为“四卫拉特”。噶班沙喇布《四卫拉特史》、《蒙古古史明鉴》等也记录了其中的核心部落的首领名字。我们发现他们分属如下几个较大部落:

和硕特:拜巴噶斯、顾实汗、都尔固奇(昆都仑乌巴什)、楚瑚尔台吉

绰尔斯(准噶尔):哈喇忽喇、巴图尔洪台吉、麦尔根岱青

土尔扈特:和额尔勒克、罗布藏、麦尔根特木讷

都尔伯特:达赖太师、苏勒丹太师、苏木尔太师

史籍提到四卫拉特联盟时,只记录主要部落及其首领早已成为惯例。《咱雅班迪达传》也记载,构成四卫拉特的是以和硕特、土尔扈特、都尔伯特、准噶尔、辉特为首的诸部落^[47]。可见,“四卫拉特”包括了参加联合的所有成员,而不仅仅是四个部落。

关于四卫拉特联盟的性质,1616年被派遣到卫拉特的俄国使者托米尔科·彼得罗夫和伊凡·库尼也称“四个主要台吉因作战联合起来,兵力达一万人”^[48]。所谓“四个主要台吉”,应该是统领四卫拉特的上述主要首领。“因作战联合起来”,反映了四卫拉特联盟的军事联合性质。军事联盟的目的,无疑是要对抗来自喀尔喀的压力。1637年,在四卫拉特联盟向青海、西藏发动军事扩张的行动中,其军事组织性质体现得尤为清楚。据《和额尔勒克史》(*qo örlüg-ün teuke*)记载,当时的军事阵营中和硕特为中央军,额鲁特(绰尔斯或准噶尔同)为左翼军,土尔扈特为右翼军,都尔伯特和辉特为后卫军^[49],而巴噶图特、巴尔呼、不里雅惕等较小的其它部落被编入各个军事阵营里。这就是“四卫拉特”的真正含义,即众多部落构成的四个军事阵营。而1616年是四卫拉特军事联盟举行集会的一次重要年份。这一次的集会甚至吸引了失必儿汗国库楚姆汗的伊希姆王子^[50]。因为自1581年以来,失必儿汗国屡次被俄罗斯侵略,库楚姆汗向南方溃逃,求援于卫拉特。除了与喀尔喀抗衡的目的外,俄罗斯向东方扩张所带来的压力也是卫拉特不得不加强军事联盟的重要原因。

(三) 卫拉特联盟有了共同的法律。

巴图尔·乌巴什·图们1819年所著《四卫拉特史》记载:

自《大法典》(*yeke čayaji-yin bičig*)刊布以来,至今之己卯年,已是二百有二年。^[51]

从己卯年(1819)算起,二百零二年前应是1617年,说明卫拉特曾在这一年制定了《大法典》。制定和颁布法典,必定要进行部落首领的集会,蒙古语称族固儿干(*čiyulγan*)。这与上述诸首领商讨送子当学僧的1616年的集会只相差一年。一般情况下,连续两年举行集会的可能性不大。这两次的集会,可能是同一次集会。也就是说,在1616年的集会上,卫拉特联盟就制定了其共同遵循的法典。这一法典文献没有留存至今,其具体内容我们无从知晓,但它无疑会成为1640年卫拉特与喀尔喀共同制定《蒙古·卫拉特法典》(*mongγol-oyirad-un čayaja-yin bičig*)的基础。军事协助等军律条例是《蒙古·卫拉特法典》的重要内容^[52],也是喀尔喀与卫拉特达成和解并建立同盟关系的重要基础。如果这一内容或形式来自1616年的《大法典》,那么《大法典》也是一部军事色彩很浓的法典,可表明四卫拉特联盟的军事联合性质。《大法典》的制定,标志着卫拉特联盟的完全形成和成熟,可为四卫拉特联盟形成

过程的里程碑。

1616年以后,卫拉特的对外战争已不再是某一部落单独的行动,而是联合力量的战争,因而其势力已大大加强,开始了主动对喀尔喀的进攻。如前所述,经几次较量之后,1623年消灭了喀尔喀部阿勒坦汗硕垒乌巴什;又突袭喀尔喀,活捉了穆赫尔玛吉克,迫使他许下永不再侵犯卫拉特的诺言,结束了卫拉特与喀尔喀之间长久的战争。不久,卫拉特和喀尔喀结成同盟。1640年,共同制定《蒙古·卫拉特法典》以巩固这一关系,并在1643年联合对哈萨克进行了征战。四卫拉特联盟在打败喀尔喀,达到军事联盟的主要目的之后,仍然继续保留联合体制。但因家族过于集中所造成的领地狭小、家产(ömci)分配迟缓等联合所引起的矛盾日益突出,导致了家族或部落间的对立,内部战争一触即发,联盟的分散和分立在所难免。1628年左右,右翼土尔扈特部首领和额尔勒克首先率领其部,向西分散到了西伯利亚草原,最后到达伏尔加河沿岸。在本土,和硕特内部的家产争斗,造成了四卫拉特联盟严重的混乱,拜巴噶斯汗被兄弟杀害。虽然对西方的哈萨克额什木汗和北方的俄罗斯的塔拉、秋明等进行过一些掠夺战争,但无济于维持联盟的稳定和解决联盟内的矛盾。在这种状况下,以和硕特部顾实汗和绰尔斯部巴图尔洪台吉等为首的四卫拉特联盟决定向南扩张,寻找新的土地来解决矛盾。于是在1636—1637年间,四卫拉特联盟向土默特的统治已经衰退的青海、西藏扩张,通过占领并向这些地区分散部分部落,使卫拉特日益激化的内部矛盾得到了有效的解决。

综上所述,卫拉特在元朝灭亡之后与东蒙古势力的抗衡过程中曾有过短暂的联盟,但被脱欢和也先的统一所取代。也先之后直到土默特部阿勒坦汗征讨之前,卫拉特诸部处于各自独立的分散时期。阿勒坦汗征服卫拉特并纳入东蒙古右翼万户组织之内,使分散状态的卫拉特再次归并于统一的管辖之下。阿勒坦汗任命和硕特首领为卫拉特统领者,为以后的和硕特首领担任四卫拉特联盟长奠定了基础。阿勒坦汗之后,在16世纪80年代末,喀尔喀部开始了对卫拉特的征服和统治。喀尔喀的打击促使了卫拉特军事联盟的结成。1606年左右,以和硕特部为中心的联盟已经具备一定的力量,而1616年共同制定《大法典》,则标志着四卫拉特联盟的完全形成。所以,16世纪80年代以前并不存在四卫拉特联盟。对抗来自喀尔喀部的攻击,是卫拉特诸部缔结军事联盟的根本原因,也是确定四卫拉特联盟形成时间的标准。

注 释

[1] 汉文史籍作斡亦舌刺惕、猥刺、外刺歹、外刺、斡亦刺、瓦刺、厄鲁特等。

[2] 巴图尔·乌巴什·图们著《四卫拉特史》,噶班沙喇布的《四卫拉特史》,佚名《四卫拉特史》等等。

[3] 符拉基米尔佐夫著,刘荣峻译《蒙古社会制度史》中国社会科学出版社1980年,页246。马曼丽、胡

- 斯振:《四卫拉特连盟初探》,《中国蒙古史学会论文选集》内蒙古人民出版社 1981,201—209 页。
- [4] 兹拉特金著,马曼丽译《准噶尔汗国史》,商务印书馆 1980,40 页。巴岱、金峰、额尔德尼:“论四卫拉特联盟”《卫拉特史论文集》,新疆师范大学学报专号,1987 年,页 1—51。
- [5] 冈田英弘《ドルベソオィラトの起源》,《史学杂志》1973,第 83 编第 6 号。
- [6] 《蒙古秘史》第 141—143 节。
- [7] 《蒙古秘史》第 239 节。
- [8] 白翠琴:《斡亦剌贵族与成吉思汗系联姻考》,《民族研究》1984 年第 1 期。
- [9] 拉施特丁著,余大钧、周建奇译《史集》第 1 卷第 2 分册,商务印书馆 1985 年,页 368。
- [10] 《元史·列传第七·术赤台》:“记世祖之征阿里不哥,“外刺之军遂败廋”。又《元史·列传第五十三·王昔刺》:“又从别急里迷失等击贼外刺,斩首百余级”。
- [11] 白翠琴《瓦剌史》,吉林教育出版社 1991 年,页 13—14。有关卫拉特人参加拔都汗军队的中亚史料见潘志平《中亚浩罕国与清代新疆》,中国社会科学出版社,1991 年,页 29。
- [12] [明]火源洁编,乌·满达夫校勘·标音·注释《华夷译语·捏怯来书》,内蒙古文化出版社 1998 年,页 292。
- [13] 《蒙古源流》称 jaq-a mingyan。
- [14] 乌力吉图校勘、注释:erten-ü monyol-un qad-un ündüsün-ü yeke sir-a tuyujı orosiba(《大黄册》),民族出版社 1983,页 103—104,149—150。Erich Haenisch, *Eine-Urga-Handschrift des mongolischen Geschichtswerks von Secen Sagang (alias Sanang Secen)*, 1955, Berlin, p. 52, 51v, 萨囊彻辰著,道润梯步译校《新译校注〈蒙古源流〉》,内蒙古人民出版社,1981 年,页 234。
- [15] *Monumenta Mongolica: Tomus, II*, Чоймаа, *Qad-un ündüsün quriyangyui altan tobči*, Улаанбаатар, 2002, 45a.
- [16] 和田清认为乌格齐哈什哈与鬼力赤属同一人。见和田清《明代蒙古史论集》上,商务印书馆,1984 年,页 184。
- [17] 《明太宗实录》卷十八,永乐元年(1403)四月壬子。
- [18] 《明太宗实录》卷十八,永乐元年(1403)十月戊午条,永乐二年(1404)七月辛酉条,永乐三年(1405)四月庚辰条。
- [19] 《明太宗实录》卷六十三,永乐七年(1409)五月乙未。
- [20] 《蒙古民族通史》第三卷,内蒙古大学出版社,1991 年,页 105—138。
- [21] 勒尼·格鲁塞著,魏英邦译《草原帝国》,青海人民出版社,1991 年,页 553—554。
- [22] 同注[14]所引《大黄册》第 172 页。又 А. Д. Цехдий, *ИСТОРИЯ ЭРДЭНИ-ДЗУ (Erdeni jou-yin setke)*《额尔德尼召寺志》,Москва,1999. 200。
- [23] Ш. Нацагдорж, *Халхуй түүх*(《喀尔喀简史》), Улаанбаатар 1963, 26。
- [24] 冈田英弘:“ウバシホソタイシ伝考釈”《游牧社会史探究》1968 年,33,页 11。
- [25] Galdan: *erdeni-yin erike*(《宝贝念珠》), Ulanbator 1960, 89。
- [26] *Monumenta mongolica: tomus I, Byamba-yin Asarayči nerettü [-yin] setke*(textological study), transcription

and index by Ts. Shagdarsüreng, Lee Seng-Gyu, Ulaanbaatar, 2002, 52a.

- [27] 同注[22]所引《额尔德尼召寺志》第200页。
- [28] 和田清《明代蒙古史论集》下,商务印书馆,1984年,页616。
- [29] 同注[25]所引书第88页。
- [30] 贾敬颜、朱凤译《汉译蒙古黄金史纲》内蒙古人民出版社,1985年,页63、176—7。
- [31] *Altan ibči*(《黄金史》), Ulan-Bator, 1990, 169.
- [32] 邵建东、刘迎胜译《内陆亚洲厄鲁特历史资料》云南人民出版社,2002,页38。
- [33] Q. Damdinsurung, *Mongyol uran Joqiyal-un degeji jayun bilg orusibai*, Ulanbator 1959, 186.
- [34] Rgyal dbang lnga pa chen mo, *Bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo' i glu dbyangs*, 民族出版社 1981, 192.
- [35] Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor, *Chos 'byung dpag bsam ljon bzng*, 甘肃民族出版社, 1992, 892.
- [36] 官肋淳子:《最后的游牧帝国》讲谈社, 1995, 页148。
- [37] 若松宽:“アルトウンーハン伝考证”,《东洋史论集:内田吟凤博士颂寿纪念》,同朋舍, 1978年, 33, 页521。
- [38] 约·弗·巴德利:《俄国·蒙国·中国》下卷第一册,商务印书馆, 1981年, 页1070—1074。
- [39] *хоѡуд ноѡон Батур убаѡи Тумени туурбиѡсан дѡрбѡн ойирадиѡн тѡѡке. X. Лувсанбалдан, Тод Усѡгийн Дурсгалууд*, Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum. XIX. fasc. 14, Ulanbator, 1976, 14b—17a.
- [40] *dörbön oyirodiyın tölke, em ċi rabang ses rab*, Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum. XIX. fasc. 14, Ulanbator, 1967, 80.
- [41] 同注[39]所引书第410页
- [42] *Biography of Caya Pandita in Oirat Characters*, Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum. XIX. fasc. 14, Ulanbator, 1967, 2a—2b.
- [43] 1616年派遣到卫拉特的俄国使者托米尔科·彼得罗夫和伊凡·库尼却称“整个喀尔木克的首领”是“巴图尔达赖太师”(БагатырьТалай-тайша)。这无疑指的是拜巴噶斯巴图尔。又称“巴图尔有四个兄弟”,这与拜巴噶斯等亲兄弟五人(卫拉特文献称“五虎”)相符。巴德利和兹拉特金都把“巴图尔”与准噶尔部的巴图尔洪台吉联系在一起,但是巴图尔洪台吉从未当过“整个喀尔木克的首领”。官肋淳子却认为“巴图尔达赖太师”,是都尔伯特部达赖台师一人(《最后的游牧帝国》164页),也是错误的,因为都尔伯特部达赖台师从未有过“巴图尔”称号。“巴图尔达赖太师”,应为“拜巴噶斯巴图尔”和都尔伯特部“达赖太师”两人的混淆。1623年,俄罗斯派遣的使者未能证实“巴图尔达赖太师”确有其人,可说明这一点(《俄国·蒙国·中国》下卷第一册,页985,注3)。
- [44] 同注[24]所引文第7页。
- [45] *Oyirad tetike-yin durasqal-ud*, 新疆人民出版社, 1992年, 页78。
- [46] 同注[45]所引文第79—80页。
- [47] 同注[42]所引书9a页。
- [48] 《俄国·蒙国·中国》下卷,第一册,页986。

[49]同注[45]所引文第44页。

[50]同注[48]所引文第984页。

[51]同注[39]所引书1b页。

[52]军律包括:有关发生战争时的规定(§1, §2, §3, §5),有关提供敌情情报的规定(§4, §10),有关逃兵的规定(§8),有关战争义务的规定(§9, §11, §12, §54, §55, §56, §57),有关战争时期使者的规定(§13),有关武器装备的规定(§41, §44, §45)等等(见 *mongyol-oyirad-un čayaja-yin bičig*, 内蒙古人民出版社, 2000年)。

论清朝统一新疆对中亚的意义

贾 建 飞

1759年,清朝收复南疆,继1757年平定准噶尔收复北疆后,最终完成了对今天新疆地区的统一。这不仅对清朝大一统格局的形成和清朝的政治、经济等产生了重要影响,而且对18世纪后期中亚的发展也有着多方面的意义。但就目前的研究情况而论,一般多注重于对前者之研究,对后者的研究则颇为缺乏,或不系统。本文即将就此展开相关论述,不当之处,尚请方家多多指正。

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对中亚而言,清朝统一新疆首先带来的是稳定局面的出现。这主要反映在清朝对准噶尔的平定和对企图扩张的中亚部落的约束两方面,其中尤以前者为重。

(一) 清朝平定准噶尔

准噶尔自16世纪兴起后,首先确立起在天山南北的统治,随后不断向外扩张,尤其是西进中亚,通过武力控制了中亚的许多地区。这给中亚的发展带来了灾难性的影响。

首先,频仍的战争影响到了中亚各部的政治稳定。以哈萨克为例,准噶尔在中亚的扩张主要反映在与哈萨克的战争中。为了争夺哈萨克控制的许多贸易中心(如塔什干、安集延、撒马尔罕等),扩大牧场范围,准噶尔部从17世纪开始,不断发动对哈萨克的侵略战争。尤其是策妄阿拉布坦统治时期(1697—1727年),成为哈萨克历史上的大灾难时期,哈萨克丧失大片草原,许多人逃离家园。直到准噶尔被清朝消灭,哈萨克方摆脱其威胁^[1]。但是与准噶尔的斗争不仅使哈萨克汗国更为支离破碎,阻止了哈萨克政府或国家的出现,而且也使其无力抵抗俄国的侵扰,哈萨克的小、中、大三玉兹分别于1731年、1740年和1742年接受了俄国的保护,向其朝贡。^[2]

其他一些中亚部落也时常遭到准噶尔的侵略,如布鲁特^[3]、布哈拉、浩罕和巴达克山等。

准噶尔最盛之时,哈萨克、浩罕、布哈拉、希瓦都处于其势力范围下^[4],他们被迫归附准噶尔,还要送人质到准噶尔。在清朝平定准噶尔前,哈萨克、浩罕、巴达克山等中亚部落都曾经有重要人物作为“人质”在伊犁居留过多年^[5]。

其次,严重影响到中亚各部的经济发展。准噶尔的扩张不仅对中亚的经济发展造成了毁灭性的打击,而且,准噶尔还强迫中亚各部向其缴纳贡赋,这成为准噶尔经济基础的重要组成部分^[6],但却使中亚各部背上了沉重的负担。同时,准噶尔凭借其强势控制着中西之间的贸易,这对中亚原有贸易的发展也有一定的抑制作用。以上种种因素都直接影响到了中亚经济乃至国力的发展,并进而影响到中亚各部政治的发展。以受准噶尔打击最为严重的哈萨克为例,17世纪哈萨克呈现出政治分裂之像,而影响哈萨克团结成为中央集权国家的困难之一就在于其经济每况愈下,以及自然经济占据了统治地位,其标志就是哈萨克南部城镇的衰落^[7]。

因此清朝平定准噶尔使中亚各部得以摆脱其桎梏,获得了一个相对和平的发展环境和良好的发展契机,中亚各部方可能走上独立自主的发展道路。从历史的实际来看,哈萨克由于直接面临俄国南扩的影响,其发展受到很大限制,但哈萨克东部仍然因此维持了半个多世纪的和平局面,而其他一些中亚部落,如浩罕、巴达克山等的发展则因此得利甚多,尤其是浩罕,能够在19世纪兴起为中亚的一个大国,与此关系极为密切。

(二) 清朝对企图扩张称霸的中亚部落的约束

清朝统一新疆后,中亚各部分纷纷入觐朝贡,与清朝建立起一种宗藩关系。

与准噶尔和正在进军中亚的俄国相比,清朝对中亚并没有任何领土上的要求^[8],只在理论上对中亚各部实行“羁縻”政策^[9]。而且,清朝对待中亚各部的具体政策并无多大区别,既不刻意拉拢支持某部,也不刻意打击某部。但是,对于那些积极扩张、企图称霸的中亚部落,清朝则给予了一定的约束,力图加以制止,尽量维持各部的实力均衡,维护中亚的和平。

清朝统一新疆后,出于稳定之虑,希望中亚各部能够协助缉拿并交出逃往他们那里的和卓后裔,一些中亚部落便企图以此来换取清朝对其在中亚扩张之支持,其中尤以巴达克山最为突出^[10]。史载,1760年,清朝赐给巴达克山统治者素勒坦沙敕书中有“今因为天朝效力,诛戮霍集占等,致与鄂苏伯克等为仇,祈转奏大皇帝发兵二万剿灭仇敌”^[11]等语。此外,巴达克山还对奇特拉尔、博洛尔等中亚部落发动了侵略战争。但其扩张之举均遭致清朝斥责,如1762年,叶尔羌办事都统新柱在其奏折中写道:“拔达克山素勒坦沙统众抢掠博罗尔游牧,围困城池,博罗尔沙瑚沙默特情急求救,已遣使将素勒坦沙严行斥责。”^[12]后来,清政府又命令巴达克山将掠夺博洛尔之物归还,命其“不可夺其土地人民”,要“和睦邻封”,否则就要“发兵问罪”^[13]。清政府明确表示:“素勒坦沙等,若因俘献霍集占等,致邻部兴兵攻伐,伊

等力不能支,或失地来投,我发兵戡定其难,尚属可行。今欲借兵威以开游牧,自当明白晓示。”^[14]巴达克山企图依靠清朝庇护对外进行扩张便以失败告终^[15]。

另外,对于凭借地利时常劫掠来往于中亚与新疆之间的商队、严重影响中亚商贸的布鲁特人,清政府也给予了一定的约束。《新疆回部志》称“各布鲁特遵法服教,无敢剽劫,道路宁谧。”^[16]

清朝之所以如此,其出发点是多方面的:首先,这是传播清朝作为天朝大国和宗主国威严之举,以此徕远人,服人心;其次,正如清帝所指,中亚各部同为其臣仆,当一视同仁^[17],因此在1767年,哈萨克与浩罕交战,哈萨克阿布赛汗遣使求救于清朝,乾隆指出,“尔哈萨克、霍罕等,皆系归服朕之臣仆”,“岂有助一臣仆攻一臣仆之理”,对其请求断然拒绝^[18],让其不可妄生覬覦,搆祸邻国;第三,稳定新疆统治之意。清朝历经数十载统一新疆,对其稳定尤为重视。天山南路世为维吾尔等穆斯林民族居住之地,与中亚毗邻,其在文化传统、宗教信仰、社会习俗、经济生活等方面与中亚各部都有极强的认同感,清朝断不能允许在其以西的中亚地区出现一个大国,以免影响其对新疆的统治,因此对那些企图称霸中亚的部落自然要给予压制。

无论如何,清朝的这些举动对于中亚的和平稳定都有积极的影响。

二

清朝与准噶尔战争是中国历史上农业民族与游牧民族的最后一次战争,它给长期占据内陆亚洲统治地位的游牧势力造成了毁灭性的打击,使游牧民族统治内陆亚洲的时代终结,为农业民族所代替。

在中亚几千年的发展过程中,游牧民族一直占据着主导地位,蒙元时期可谓其鼎盛时期。不过蒙古人建立的汗国很快分崩离析,西蒙古中的准噶尔成为中亚地区最后一个强大游牧势力。但是游牧汗国的性质以及其多元文化和宗教共存的特点决定了其政治经济发展极不平衡,文化基础松散,难以形成维系统一的共同的思想基础,极易受到外来文明和势力的影响。因此,受农业文明的不断侵蚀、自然环境的变化、分散经营凸现出的落后、迁徙特性造成的经济基础脆弱等因素的影响,其牧场逐步减少,经济发展受到严重影响,进而影响到其长期以来因任意逐水草而牧、得以控制中介贸易、以商补牧、商牧相济的经济格局;加之游牧汗国部落联盟的逐渐衰落,游牧势力的衰落实乃必然趋势。而且,新航路开辟后,海上交通日趋发达,亚欧大陆上的草原商路日益失去其价值,更加速了其经济的衰落^[19]。事实上,即使是准噶尔这样的游牧民族,也开始注重发展农业,如在巴图尔珲台吉时期,虽然农业的规模较小,但农业的地位已经比较重要,到了策妄阿拉布坦时期,农业已占据重要地位,除以

战俘耕地外,还强迫许多南疆的维吾尔族到伊犁、乌鲁木齐等地发展农业经济,许多农耕技术因而传到准噶尔,许多准噶尔人也开始从事农业生产,或是以农补牧^[20]。在中亚的乌兹别克汗国,农业经济也日益占据重要的地位。

这些因素导致游牧民族的发展空间越来越狭窄。而且,与以前中亚的游牧民族不同的是,他们已经失去了退却的空间。以前,一旦遭到更为强大的游牧势力或是中原王朝的进攻,这些游牧民族可以选择向西撤退,甚至可以一直退到遥远的东欧草原。但是,当清朝崛起于东亚之时,欧洲东部的俄罗斯族也已经摆脱蒙古人的控制,统一了伏尔加河流域,并开始越过乌拉尔山向东扩展,这样留给中亚游牧民族的空间就越来越小,这就是17、18世纪准噶尔部面临的现实情况。正如俄人所言,俄国的殖民过程不可避免地引起排挤准噶尔牧区的现象^[21]。因此,在清朝的打击下,不断失败的准噶尔部已无退路可言,最终伤亡殆尽,且永远失去了复苏的空间和机会,永远退出了历史的舞台。准噶尔从中亚历史舞台的消失,标志统治中亚几千年的游牧民族彻底让位于农耕民族,在中亚东部是清朝的统治,西部则是实力日益强盛且正在开展资本主义工业化的俄国(他们最终吞并了中亚另一个游牧民族哈萨克),注定中亚将不再有强大游牧民族政治集团产生^[22]。

因此,清朝对准噶尔的平定,其意义不仅体现在领土的扩张上,更重要的是一种文明对另一种文明的征服,正如费正清所言,“1696年,噶尔丹部在昭莫多战役中惨败于清军,大清铁炮的轰鸣声已预示了一千多年来游牧骑士政权的最后结束。”^[23]这在近代世界的发展过程中其实也是一种必然趋势。

三

清朝统一新疆,对中亚的最大影响体现在贸易方面。

中亚地处丝绸之路要冲,贸易(尤其是转口贸易)在其国民经济中的地位极为重要。但自15世纪以后,这种贸易受到严重打击,导致其国民经济一蹶不振。其原因分析如下:首先,战乱的影响。其中包括中亚内部的战争、外部势力对中亚的侵略(如波斯、准噶尔的侵略)、明朝与蒙古的战争、清朝平定准噶尔战争等,这些都严重地影响到了中亚的贸易发展。其次,由于战争的影响,导致西方国家开始寻求从海路发展与东方的贸易,航海地理的大发现严重影响到了连接中国、印度、中东乃至欧洲商业与文明的中亚地区的重要地位。

由于中亚各部的主要收入来源是征收商民过境税,而贸易的衰落首先导致过境税减少,进而使其经济严重衰退,国力日益衰落。在16世纪末期前,中亚就明显出现全面衰退的迹象,这种衰退一直持续到了18世纪。一个佐证是:18世纪40年代左右,伊朗统治者纳迪儿沙进军乌兹别克汗国首都、历史上著名的布哈拉城之后,却由于其衰败根本不屑对其进行

掠夺^[24]。

当然,并不能因此认为此时的中亚已经完全丧失了东西贸易中的枢纽地位。在一定的历史时期和某些特定的地区,这种贸易仍然较为活跃。史料记载,在16、17世纪,中亚商人(主要是希瓦、布哈拉商人,他们在俄国与东方各国的贸易中起着重要的中介作用,另外印度和俄国商人在其中也起着一定的作用)将包括中国货物(如大黄)在内的东方货物贩运到了西亚、非洲、俄国,甚至西欧^[25]。其中,中国货物的由来应该有两种渠道。其一,通过准噶尔贩来。在清朝平准前,准噶尔一度成为沟通中西贸易的桥梁,如伊犁和准噶尔北部的亚梅什湖就是当时的重要贸易中心^[26],但是这种贸易在清朝平准战争中几至消失。其二,通过海上丝绸之路而来,这应该是这一时期中亚中国货物的主要来源。如上文所述的大黄,相当一部分即由广州海运到印度,然后运到中亚^[27]。史料记载,在18世纪中亚输入新疆的商品中,也有来自中国东南沿海的产品,因为中亚温都斯坦之江河“皆通洋海,时有闽广海航到彼停泊,多有以大黄渔利者。故广东福建之物往往有之,或重贩至叶尔羌,转入中国矣”^[28]。那么,自然也应该有海运来的中国货物被贩运到中亚其他地方。

但是,在当时的历史条件下,中亚与中国间的东方贸易规模势必受到严重影响。而且,即使如上所述,在一定的历史时期内,中亚与周边(主要是向西向北,如俄国等)的贸易关系仍在继续,并没有受到如同其东方贸易那样大的影响,但事实上,中亚对东方(尤其是中国)的依赖显然大大超出其对西方的依赖。

因此,中亚盼望稳定的政治环境,恢复东方贸易之愿望极为迫切。清朝统一新疆则使其愿望的实现成为可能,它给中亚的社会经济发展,尤其是商贸的发展提供了必要的、良好的客观条件,中亚各部利用这一大好时机,积极地从事着与其生活有着密切关系的与周边地区、尤其是与清朝的贸易活动^[29],这对东西贸易的沟通起到了重要的作用。另外,清朝出于稳定西北边疆统治之需,对这种贸易也制定了一定的优惠政策,加以清朝对本土商人的限制(详见下文),使中亚商人在这种贸易中地位日益重要,中亚的东方贸易发展迅猛,一直延续到19世纪前半叶。

按照从事贸易的客体划分,中亚的东方贸易主要分为两种,即官方贸易与民间贸易。

(一) 官方贸易

官方贸易由朝贡贸易和官办贸易构成。

朝贡是清朝保持与中亚联系的重要渠道之一,借此使其通天朝声教,以示“天下共主,中外一体”的大一统格局。它是中亚各部与清朝之间存在的一种贡贡关系,即缴纳贡品和回赠礼品的关系,实际上是一种商业性的交换。这种交换主要在两个层次进行,即在高层(宫廷)和普通市场^[30]。

中亚发展与清朝的朝贡贸易,有慑于清朝威严而做出的政治上的选择,更主要的是出于经济利益的考虑。中亚朝贡的动力显然与贸易有关,而清朝皇帝则将发展这种贸易关系视为对中亚的恩赐,必须遣使进京,举行朝贡仪式,经过这套政治手续后,经济关系才算合法,因此,朝贡也是发展双方贸易关系的一个前提^[31]。费正清甚至认为整个朝贡制度似乎都已成为独辟蹊径的通商媒介^[32]。也就是说,朝贡已经成为贸易的幌子。而贸易关系也以朝贡关系为媒介得到扩大^[33]。

朝贡贸易一般由三部分内容组成:(1)由贡使携带的传统贡物以及由中国方面与此对应的回赐物构成的授受关系;(2)贡使的随行人员在官办的、限定规模的北京会同馆进行的交易;(3)随同贡使到来的商人团体在国境上所设的榷场与中国商人进行的交易^[34]。

对于这种朝贡贸易,清政府于1760年规定免税^[35],后又规定,“外蕃来使及布鲁特呈进马匹并献纳贡物者,所带货物照例免税”^[36]。这种政策极大地刺激了中亚各部对朝贡贸易的积极性,因此他们为获得最大的经济利益,往往置清政府对朝贡的限制于不顾,频繁入贡^[37]。

除以土产换取清朝“加倍赏赉”^[38]之物品外,中亚各部一般还利用“朝贡免税”的规定,沿途购买大量中国商品,如茶、花椒、大黄、瓷器、绸缎等,除自用外,主要用以转口贸易。有时这种沿途采买的规模极大,史料记载,1810年浩罕朝贡者由北京返到哈密时,“骑马十九匹,其行李货包秤重五万三千余斤,询系沿途添买货物,愈积愈多,计需车八十八辆。”而浩罕使者所持清朝兵部车票“仅准给车三辆,火牌内准骑马十四匹”^[39]。对于他们所能携带的行李重量,清政府其实也有明确限制,因此浩罕所携货物大大超出许可范围。另外,史料记载,哈萨克的人觐使臣往往也“沿途贸易及买蒙古人口”^[40]。

中亚与清朝进行的官办贸易主要指发生在哈萨克与清朝之间的马匹贸易。交易场所集中在北疆的乌鲁木齐、伊犁和塔尔巴哈台,南疆的规模要小得多。^[41]它是自古就存在于中原王朝与北方和西北游牧民族间的一种交易,如我们熟知的“茶马贸易”和“绢马贸易”。发展这种贸易,对双方都有重要的意义,哈萨克可以借此获取生活所需,亦可作为发展转口贸易之用;清朝则以哈萨克之马“补内地调拨缺额”^[42],加强边防所需,亦用于发展新疆农业生产,并通过转卖马匹使之成为财政收入的一个来源。

除马匹外,哈萨克的商品也包括牛羊等其它家畜及贩自安集延的毡片牛皮等物^[43],清朝用以交易之物主要是绸缎、棉布、瓷器和茶叶等,尤其是绸缎更受哈萨克人的欢迎。这种贸易一般每年三、四次不等^[44],多在夏秋之交。

在当时,马匹贸易属官方垄断,民间不能私自贸易。虽然清政府曾议及在官办贸易后可招商进行一定的民间贸易,并称商民愿往,听其自愿,但实际上至道光年间,对哈萨克贸易一直由官方垄断^[45]。即使是发生在官办贸易之后的民间贸易(哈萨克人以贸易所剩牲畜或畜

产品交换中国内地货物),也得委托交易官员代为办理。不过,无论是对交换计值有着较为明确规定的官办贸易,还是官方代为办理的民间贸易,都是一种纯经济的通商关系^[46],正如清政府所言,发展这种贸易“但以两得其平为是”^[47]。“两得其平”可谓清政府发展与中亚各部商贸关系的一个指导原则。直到1840年代,随着俄国逐步控制哈萨克,这种马匹贸易才趋于衰落。

(二) 民间贸易

由于清朝限制哈萨克以外的中亚商人到北疆贸易,因此南疆就成为中亚与清朝贸易的门户。较之官方贸易,民间贸易更为活跃。来此贸易的外藩商人不仅有毗邻清朝之中亚商人,且有伊朗人、俄国人(鞑靼人或诺盖人)^[48]、印度人、中亚犹太人(聚居在浩罕)和亚美尼亚人^[49]。贸易地集中在喀什噶尔、叶尔羌和阿克苏等地。在贸易物方面,中亚各部的输出物以本地土产为主,史称“霍罕人等,所携不过土产”^[50],如牲畜、皮毛制品等,另外也存在奴隶贸易和鸦片贸易。以毛皮为例,当时南疆所需的各种毛皮“俱自外蕃贩入回地”^[51],数量极大。后来以俄国货物为主的欧洲制品也开始通过中亚商人(主要是哈萨克、布哈尔和浩罕等商人)进入新疆^[52],如1790年,清朝查获的从喀什噶尔、叶尔羌和乌什等处私贩入境的俄国产皮张计有灰鼠皮20000张、水獭海龙皮200余张、香龟貂皮1000余张等^[53],足证这种贸易规模之大。中亚输入的中国货物则以茶叶、大黄、银子、瓷器、布匹等为主。

在这种贸易中,中亚商人的地位最为重要,其原因是:

其一,税制。发展与中亚的贸易关系实质上是清朝羁縻中亚、稳定西北边疆之所需,清政府认为只有减免税课才能使中亚各部“人心益附”^[54],因此,清朝对中亚商人采取了优惠税率。在北疆与哈萨克的官办贸易中,清朝始终对哈萨克予以免税;^[55]在南疆,则对本土商人和外藩商人采取了不同的税率,外藩商人为三十分抽一(皮币,二十分抽一)^[56],本土商人则是二十分抽一(皮币,十分抽一)。19世纪初,清政府又对中亚商人的税收一律减半^[57]。张格尔和玉素普叛乱后,清政府为维护边疆的稳定,又规定中亚商人“一体免税”^[58]。因此,这种税率政策对中亚各部极为有利。

在此刺激下,中亚的东方贸易获得极大发展,史称“现在回部安静,其布鲁特、霍罕、安集延、玛尔噶朗等贸易之人,络绎不绝”^[59],《新疆回部志》亦称浩罕商人来新疆等处贸易者“常数十百人往来络绎”^[60]。应该说,中亚的东方贸易的繁盛是清政府拉拢政策和优惠关税制度刺激下的必然产物,它适应了中亚的要求,对中亚的贸易产生了极为重要的影响。

其二,清朝对本土商人的限制。对于本土商人赴中亚贸易,清朝最初本无限制,但1794年发生的南疆商人在中亚遇害事件使清政府开始对赴外贸易之本土商人进行限制,规定以后如有前往中亚贸易者,视其路途远近给票,违者必予以治罪,还要惩处相关官员^[61]。因

此,这种政策从法律上约束了本土商人赴外贸易,他们甚至还要用钱购买经商权利^[62],这些都使中亚商人的地位日益重要。乾隆中期南疆尚有“土人皆恐其去,去则其地之货财不能流通,而回人大有不便”^[63]之说,后期有所限制后这种依赖自然有过之而无不及。

由于中亚商人的重要地位,加之这种民间贸易多以白银等货币支付,不同于北疆的以货易货贸易,造成清朝的白银大量流入中亚。那彦成在19世纪20年代即已指出白银大半为中亚商人易去^[64],此后甚至有人将中国内地银价上升亦归因于此^[65]。俄国史料对此也有相关记载,直到19世纪50年代,白银仍然是南疆主要的非法输出品^[66]。

通过这种贸易,中亚在一定程度上恢复了沟通东西方贸易的枢纽地位,通过古丝绸之路或草原丝绸之路进行的东西方贸易重新得到发展。更重要的是,在内外环境的影响下,中亚的社会经济、国力都在这种贸易的刺激下获得了极大的发展,尤其是浩罕,利用其地理位置,从中大获裨益。巴托尔德认为,浩罕的文化事业和农业经济的发展,特别是那木干地区英吉艾里克运河和塔什干地区的哈纳里克运河的开凿等,都依赖于这样得来的财富,而浩罕的繁荣状况和商业活动给当时到过浩罕的人留下了深刻印象^[67]。在利益的驱使下,浩罕统治者积极地参与和干涉着与周边的贸易(尤其是与清朝的东方贸易^[68]),后来几乎完全控制了中亚的东西贸易,其目的不仅为谋取经济利益,也在于借此发展军事势力,以加强对国内的统治,并准备向外的扩张。显然,这种贸易为浩罕的勃兴提供了必备的经济条件^[69]。因此,浩罕最终成为清朝西北边陲的大患并非偶然。

当然,受不断发展的海上运输的影响,加上18世纪中期恰克图贸易的开通使中俄之间直接进行贸易成为可能,这种贸易已经不可能恢复到丝绸之路兴盛时的程度,只能是一种地区性的繁荣。

综上所述,清朝统一新疆对18世纪后期、19世纪前期中亚的发展起到了一定的积极作用。但是,19世纪中期后,随着清朝国力的日益衰落,其对中亚的影响日渐衰微,尤其是60和70年代,在西北回民起义和浩罕军官阿古柏入侵的双重打击下,清朝竟然暂时失去了在新疆的统治地位,其对中亚的影响自然完全消失。而处于发展中的俄国对中亚的不断渗透则使中亚受其影响不断加深,完全取代了此前清朝在中亚的地位,并最终吞并中亚各部,使中亚进入了俄国占据绝对优势的时代。

注 释

[1]加文·汉布里著,吴玉贵译《中亚史纲要》,商务印书馆,1984年,页199;Chahryar Adle and Irfan Habib ed., *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Volume V: Development in contrast: from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, Paris, 2003, p98.

[2]《中亚史纲要》,页200—201。

- [3] 17世纪80年代以及18世纪20到40年代间,是布鲁特人极为困难的时期,由于准噶尔的大屠杀,许多布鲁特人逃到了叶尔羌、和阗、费尔干纳甚至阿富汗北部。后来在清军对准噶尔的打击下,准噶尔实力受损,这些人才陆续返回,共同抗击准噶尔。参见 *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Volume V, p117.
- [4] 王治来《中亚近代史》,兰州大学出版社,1989年,页112。
- [5] 准噶尔史略编写组《准噶尔史略》,人民出版社,1985年,页141。佐口透著,凌颂纯译《18—19世纪新疆社会史研究》,新疆人民出版社,1983年,页84。
- [6] 准噶尔的经济发展主要依靠发展东西贸易从中渔利,以及向被征服民族征收贡赋。参见 *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Volume V, p150.
- [7] *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Volume V, pp95—96.
- [8] 正如清朝所言,“俾通天朝声教而已,并非欲郡县其地,张官置吏,亦非如喀尔喀之分旗编设佐领”。中亚各部只要“能约束所部,永守边界,不生事端”,即“不加兵骚扰”。(《清高宗实录》(七)卷543;乾隆二十二年七月丁未,中华书局,1986年,页891;《清高宗实录》(八)卷555,乾隆二十三年正月丙辰,页30。)因此潘志平认为清朝追求的是互不骚扰和平睦邻关系,是归附自愿的原则,只要做到这一点,清朝就不干预其内政和外交。莫里斯·古朗也称:“中国的外交策略愿意对这些遥远的入贡者发号施令……它明智地满足于拥有皇朝最高权力遍及世界边缘的名声。他实际的作用,除了在浩罕比较其它所有地方更活跃外,只限于保持藩属入贡者之间的和平,要求他们尊重并保护帝国的领土。”参见潘志平《中亚浩罕国与清代新疆》,中国社会科学出版社,1991年,页53。
- [9] 费正清、刘广京主编《剑桥中国晚清史》上卷,中译本,中国社会科学出版社,1996年,页62。
- [10] 巴达克山在清朝追捕大小和卓兄弟的行动中曾企图将其引渡给清政府,虽然被认为违背了伊斯兰经典,遭到其他中亚伊斯兰国家,如阿富汗、浩罕等的强烈敌意,但却得到了清朝的认可和支持。随后,巴达克山借此开始向周边地区扩张。
- [11] 傅恒等撰《平定准噶尔方略》续编卷2,页13,乾隆二十五年四月壬寅,《文渊阁四库全书·史部》第359册,台湾商务印书馆,1986年,总页526。
- [12] 《平定准噶尔方略》续编卷19,页28—29,乾隆二十七年十二月癸丑,总页770,771。
- [13] 《清高宗实录》(九)卷678,乾隆二十八年一月己巳,页589。
- [14] 《平定准噶尔方略》续编卷2,页12,乾隆二十五年四月壬寅,总页526。
- [15] 《18—19世纪新疆社会史研究》,页86。
- [16] 永贵、固世衡原撰,苏尔德增撰《新疆回部志》卷4“外夷”,见《中国西北文献丛书·西北民俗文献》第二卷,兰州古籍书店,1990年,页79。佐口透对清朝约束布鲁特的效果表示怀疑,其理由是浩罕后来出兵对布鲁特的征服,认为其中固有浩罕扩充势力的因素,亦有布鲁特在清朝警告之后依然活跃的因素。见《18—19世纪新疆社会史研究》,页426。但在乾隆时期,这种效果应该是不容置疑的。19世纪后,随着浩罕的崛起和清朝的衰落,其影响相对削弱,但亦不能说这种影响已经完全消失。
- [17] 《清高宗实录》(十三)卷1024,乾隆四十二年正月丁丑,页722。

- [18]《清高宗实录》(十)卷793,乾隆三十二年八月己丑,页725。
- [19]项英杰等著《中亚:马背上的文化》,浙江人民出版社,1993年,页324。
- [20] *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Volume V, p163. [苏]伊·亚·兹拉特金著,马曼丽译《准噶尔汗国史(1635—1758)》,商务印书馆,1980年,页313。
- [21]《准噶尔汗国史》,页311。
- [22]参见罗运治《清高宗统治新疆政策的探讨》,里仁书局,1983年,页41—42。
- [23]费正清,赖肖尔,克雷格著,黎鸣等译《东亚文明:传统与变革》,天津人民出版社,1992年,页221。
- [24]《中亚史纲要》,页242。
- [25]孟宪章主编《中苏贸易史资料》,中国对外经济出版社,1991年,页1—2;劳斐尔(Berthold Laufer)著,林筠因译《中国伊朗编:中国对古代伊朗文明史的贡献(着重于栽培植物及产品之历史)》,商务印书馆,2001年,页382—383; *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Volume V, p84.;王希隆《中俄关系史略》,甘肃文化出版社,1995年,页19。
- [26]《准噶尔史略》,页151—152; *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Volume V, p165—166。
- [27]《中国伊朗编》,页1—2;高晓山等编著《大黄》,中国医药科技出版社,1988年11月,页4。
- [28]椿园《新疆舆图风土考》卷2,“温都斯坦”条,见《中国西北文献丛书·西北民俗文献》第一卷,兰州古籍书店,1990年,页84。
- [29]《18—19世纪新疆社会史研究》,页432。
- [30]沙伊苏尔坦诺夫娜著,杨恕、王尚达译《十四——十九世纪中国在中央亚细亚的外交》,兰州大学出版社,2002年,页104。
- [31]费正清《中国的世界秩序——一种初步的构想》,见陶文钊编选,林海等译《费正清集》,天津人民出版社,1992年,页7。
- [32]费正清《朝贡与贸易的发展》,见《费正清集》,页38。
- [33]滨下武志著,朱荫贵、欧阳菲译《中国的国际契机》,中国社会科学出版社,1999年,页39。
- [34]《中国的国际契机》,页41。
- [35]《平定准噶尔方略》续编卷7,页13,乾隆二十五年十一月丁未,总页598。
- [36]和宁《回疆通志》卷7,页8,文海出版社,1966年,总第200页。
- [37]清廷规定,朝贡是不定期的。而且,哈萨克必须经伊犁将军或塔尔巴哈台大臣,南疆卡外的中亚各部落则要经由喀什噶尔参赞大臣上奏北京,通常情况下是给这些使臣颁发谕帖和赏物后遣送回去,只有在皇帝许可的情况下才让他们进京入觐。但这种规定似乎对中亚各部(尤其是浩罕)并没起到应有的作用。
- [38]《清宣宗实录》(五)卷262,道光十五年正月己卯,页12。
- [39]《那文毅公奏议》(一)卷22,页34,嘉庆十五年七月二十三日奏,总页670。
- [40]《平定准噶尔方略》正编卷68,页4,乾隆二十四年二月壬戌,总页235。
- [41]事实上,北疆一般不允许哈萨克以外的外藩部落贸易。见《剑桥中国晚清史》上卷,页66。
- [42]《清高宗实录》(七)卷550,乾隆二十二年十一月癸巳,页1017。

- [43] 祁韵士《新疆要略》卷4,《哈萨克源流》,页5,《清朝藩属舆地丛书》,文海出版社,1967年,总页2603—2604。
- [44] 永保纂,马大正、牛平汉整理《总统伊犁事宜》,见《中国西北文献丛书续编·西北史地文献卷》第六册,甘肃文化出版社,1999年,页319。
- [45] 厉声《哈萨克斯坦及其与中国新疆的关系(15世纪—20世纪中期)》,黑龙江教育出版社,2004年,页155。
- [46] 《18—19世纪新疆社会史研究》,页396。
- [47] 《清高宗实录》(七)卷550,乾隆二十二年十一月癸巳,页1017—1018。
- [48] 由于当时中亚市场对非穆斯林市关闭,俄国人无法直接进入中亚市场。18世纪下半期,俄国女皇喀德琳二世改变了对鞑靼人的政策,同意其享有特权,承担正在发展中的俄国工业与中亚市场的中介人。这种情况一直持续到了19世纪初,中亚市场开始向俄国门户洞开。见《中亚史纲要》,页255。
- [49] 《剑桥中国晚清史》上卷,页88。
- [50] 《清高宗实录》(九)卷658,乾隆二十七年四月己巳,页364。
- [51] 《回疆通志》卷12,页27—28,总页422—423。
- [52] 《剑桥中国晚清史》上卷,页85。
- [53] 《清高宗实录》(十八)卷1366,乾隆五十五年十一月壬午,页327。
- [54] 《平定准噶尔方略》续编卷11,页17,乾隆二十六年四月乙未,总页656。
- [55] 厉声《清朝对西北藩属哈萨克治理政策研究》,载周伟洲主编《西北民族论丛》第二辑,中国社会科学出版社,2003年,页192。
- [56] 中国社会科学院中国边疆史地研究中心编《清代理藩院资料辑录》,中华全国图书馆文献缩微复制中心,1988年,页297。
- [57] 《那文毅公奏议》(一)卷19,页14—15,嘉庆十四年十二月二十日奏,总页584。
- [58] 《清宣宗实录》(四)卷209,道光十二年四月戊子,页78;《回疆则例》卷6,页10,修改,道光十二年,回疆藩夷进卡贸易一体免税,见《中国西北文献丛书续编·西北史地文献卷》,第五册,页351—352。
- [59] 《清高宗实录》(八)卷605,乾隆二十五年正月辛未,页794。
- [60] 《新疆回部志》卷4“外夷”,页79。
- [61] 《回疆则例》卷6,页355—356;卷8,页442。
- [62] 《剑桥中国晚清史》上卷,页88。
- [63] 《新疆舆图风土考》卷2,“安集延条”,见《中国西北文献丛书·西北民俗文献》第一卷,页81。
- [64] 《那文毅公奏议》(三)卷77,页3,道光八年八月三日奏,总页712。
- [65] 《清宣宗实录》(五)卷329,道光十九年十二月壬午,页1179。
- [66] 见《中亚浩罕国与清代新疆》,页85;《18—19世纪新疆社会史研究》,页442;《剑桥中国晚清史》上卷,页86,页435;James Miward, *Beyond The Pass*, Stanford University press, 1988, p62.

[67]见《中亚浩罕国与清代新疆》，页85；《18—19世纪新疆社会史研究》，页470；《中亚史纲要》，页250—251。

[68]例如，浩罕统治者屡次向清政府请求对浩罕商人免税，还企图获得在新疆设立阿克萨卡尔（即商头）的权利，以对浩罕商人收税，从中榨取浩罕商人，作为发展军事的财源。后来浩罕统治者甚至还企图获得对在新疆经商的中亚其他部落的商人收税的权利，虽遭到清政府的拒绝，但却我行我素，最终以清政府的妥协而告终。可参见《中亚浩罕国与清代新疆》，页146—148。

[69]《18—19世纪新疆社会史研究》，页419，页442。

17、18 世纪朝鲜对清的危机意识及其克服

李 花 子

前 言

朝鲜对清的危机意识,是指朝鲜对清朝入关后能否在中原站稳脚根、长久地统治下去心存疑虑而产生的危机意识,它又是一种防御意识,与朝鲜的反清意识密切相关。

近年来,随着《燕行录》的不断挖掘和深入研究,朝鲜对清的认识问题越来越受国内学界关注,出现了不少相关论题的论著,涉及朝鲜的华夷观、反清意识、北学思想等^[1]。但是,朝鲜对清的危机意识却少有人提及。国外学界有韩国学者裴祐晟在专著《朝鲜后期国土观与天下观的变化》(1998 年)中,第一次论述了以“宁古塔回归说”为代表的朝鲜对清的危机意识,可谓是开山之作。本人得益于这一研究成果,曾在另篇论及朝鲜对清的危机意识对中朝边务交涉和 1712 年长白山定界的影响^[2]。

在前期研究的基础上,本文着重考察朝鲜对清危机意识产生的过程及与朝鲜国内政治的微妙关系,特别是通过分析朝鲜使臣的报告书——“使臣别单”和“译官手本”,以及国王与回还使臣的对话内容,探讨一下朝鲜对清认识的转变过程,危机意识的克服及其原因。

一 朝鲜肃宗时期(1675—1720)“宁古塔败归说”与阴雨之备

宁古塔被认为是清朝早期的发祥地,朝鲜称之为老巢、巢窟、窟穴等,朝鲜认为清朝一旦发生内乱或受蒙古的攻击在中原占不住脚就会退回老巢宁古塔,在败归途中因受蒙古的夹击,势必转入朝鲜境内,经过平安道和咸镜道,转向其土。这样一来,朝鲜将再一次遭受清朝铁骑的蹂躏,对此做出积极的防御,就是“宁古塔败归说”的核心内容。

清朝发生三藩之乱后,朝鲜使臣不断向国内报告清朝形势危急。1674 年(康熙 13)3 月,朝鲜谢恩使金寿恒报告,吴三桂在云南、四川叛乱^[3]。同年 11 月,朝鲜陈慰使报告:“既

闻南北相持,屡战而清兵多败,尽发宁古塔、沈阳之兵,敌兵若近北京,则想有土崩瓦解之势矣。”^[4]

针对使臣的上述报告,南人派领袖、领议政(领相)许积提出了清朝败归说。1675年(康熙14)3月,当回还使臣报告:“自东八站沿水二百里,清朝设堡添兵”时,许积指出:“今此设堡,无乃为他日走归时居停计耶?抑疑我而防守耶?俱可虑也。”^[5]同年4月,当义州府尹报告凤城门闭而不纳人时,许积分析道:

彼中必有事变,清人若奔败,则江界为重地,……要以武臣曾经阍帅者代之。满浦亦宜修筑旧城。^[6]

即为了防止清朝败归时贻弊朝鲜,必须加强江界、满浦等鸭绿江沿边地区的防守。

三藩之乱期间(1673—1681),领议政许积作为权倾一时的重臣,同南人派儒臣尹镌一道,大造清朝败归时会贻弊朝鲜的舆论,鼓动年幼的国王(1674年即位时年仅六岁)加强军备,不无趁机夺取军权的政治意图。如其所愿,1675年(康熙14)12月,国王任命许积为五道体察使^[7]。

在许积、尹镌等南人的带动之下,朝鲜在西北边采取了一系列军防措施。1674年(康熙13)10月,调整了咸镜道各镇堡的位置,将甲山镇东堡权管移入于云坡新设之堡,升为万户;同仁堡移置于甘坪、古云宠两堡之间;鱼面堡移置于厚州,万户升为金使。1676年(康熙15)4月,朝鲜在西路(朝鲜称贼路)新设神光、牛岬、恃寨等三镇,在白峙先设镇后筑城。另外,在西路要冲开城修筑大兴山城。1678年(康熙17)8月,国王命令出内藏箭竹10万个分送西北(平安、咸镜)两道。1679年9月,国王身穿战服在汉江之畔露梁举行军事演习,尹镌主持制造的火车(装有火药的战车)参加演习。同年11月,西鞑(蒙古准噶尔部)叛乱的消息传来,朝鲜加紧在咸镜道栎山、丰山两镇筑城,同时,关掉三甲(三水、甲山)通向东海地区的盐路,调整咸镜道的烽燧路线^[8]。

1680年(康熙19)3月,许积引用前代国王孝宗的话,提出了更加清晰的清朝败归路线图。据许积回忆,孝宗曾表示:“吾岂不欲往征之哉!恐其败归时,必受祸也”。臣下问其由,孝宗回答:“是其势然也。其归路必见阻于蒙古,彼将自义州由阳德、孟山入咸镜道,转向其土矣。”^[9]也就是说,清朝败归时受蒙古的阻挡,必然进入朝鲜境内,从义州经过平安道的阳德、孟山进入咸镜道,再转向宁古塔故地。孝宗在丙子之役后作为人质在沈阳和北京住过,其反清意识强烈不足为怪。孝宗上台后,起用宋时烈、宋浚吉、金集等在野山林,并与老论领袖宋时烈独对,提出了著名的“北伐论”。在这里,许积引用孝宗的话,强调清朝败归时会贻弊朝鲜,目的是为南人主持着的军防措施辩护,因为这些遭到了来自西人派的猛烈攻击。西人反对的理由是,在西路大造兵车、修筑城池有烦听闻,担心传到清朝那里,有责问之举^[10]。

南人派领袖许积掌握军权和朝廷权力于一身,甚至威胁到了君权,年轻的国王对此也颇

为警觉。1680 年(康熙 19)6 月,当西人告发许积与尹镌等动员大兴山城的军人图谋逆变时,肃宗下令将此二人处死,这就是朝鲜历史上的“庚申换局”,导致南人下台,西人重掌政权^[11]。

继许积之后,接过清朝败归说的是肃宗本人,这与蒙古准噶尔部叛乱有关。1688 年(康熙 27),朝鲜使臣报告太极毬子(蒙古)叛逆的消息^[12]。对中国形势一向十分敏感的朝鲜立即警觉起来,国王认识到加强阴雨之备的必要性。1690 年(康熙 29)1 月,国王在接见诸相臣时指出:

近闻太极毬子兵势甚盛,不出数年,中原必大乱云。彼若见逐,则必归宁古塔。既归宁古塔,则咸关以北,非我所有,岂非大可忧乎?迨此闲暇,阴雨之备,不可不熟讲矣。

紧接着,国王引出经营保障地的问题,问诸大臣:“太极毬子早晚必有作梗之患,脱有不幸,当向何处耶?”大臣回答:“莫若江都(江华行宫)。”进而指出,丙子年(1636)大驾未入江都,是因船只不备,所以要预造船只,特别要造好御船。同时,在江都还要预储军粮^[13]。

从上述对话中可以看出,肃宗引出“宁古塔败归说”的用意是,吸取丙子年朝鲜仁祖促入南汉山城和江都沦陷的历史教训,计划在首都汉城之外,另外经营一个保障地,作为临难时驻蹕之所。

同年 7 月,蒙古黄台吉、青台吉叛乱的消息传来,国王再次强调经营保障地的迫切性,他指出:

太子毬子兵马强盛,彼人(指清人)每以四五十万金賂遗,为羈縻之地。而所谓青台吉、黄台吉者又作乱,彼人(清人)若避归于宁固塔,则我国之忧,不可胜言。我国既无阴雨之备,保障之地亦无可恃之地,岂非可忧之甚者乎?^[14]

不久,江都筑城开始。但是,由于朝鲜三南地区发生严重的自然灾害,在大臣们的再三劝说下,国王不得不下令暂缓筑城。到 1692 年(康熙 31),江都筑城最终完工^[15]。1694 年(康熙 33),朝鲜还在江都对岸修筑了文殊山城,以加强首都的防御体系^[16]。

肃宗经营保障地的计划,远不止此。1691 年(康熙 30)11 月,正当朝鲜筹划在江都筑城的时候,清朝通告将派五使探查鸭绿江、图们江及长白山地形,这是为了编纂大清一统志。清朝查界的消息传来后,朝鲜“人心骚动,若不保朝夕”^[17]。一些朝臣认为,清朝“必有急归故地之事,有此假托图山,实欲覘路之举”^[18]。备边司诸堂上纷纷上疏,要求修筑北汉山城。这正是国王所希望的,只因朝鲜三南地区灾害严重,国王只得下令待江都城役结束后,再议北汉筑城事^[19],这就为修筑北汉山城埋下了伏笔^[20]。另一方面,在朝鲜的阻挠下,清朝的查界计划受挫,由此,“宁古塔败归说”的影响进一步扩大。

康熙 30 年代,在蒙古叛乱的消息传来的同时,清朝国内形势安定的消息,通过一年数度的使行传回朝鲜,但是,国王宁肯相信前者,也不愿相信后者。1691 年(康熙 30)2 月,领议

政权大运指出:清朝行太平宴,人心似不至摇动。对此,国王表示:“文书何可尽信?”左议政回答:“译官有目见皇帝之面者”。同年3月,朝鲜冬至使回国后报告:清朝虽用兵,“而人心强悍,少无忧畏之色”^[21]。1693年(康熙32),回还使臣进一步证实,北京虽有征兵事,但是清朝国内“气象晏然,至设太平宴”^[22]。即便如此,国王出于经营国家的需要,为了讲求阴雨之备和自强之策,特别是为了经营保障地,有必要煽动和利用国内紧张气氛。

1712年(康熙51)长白山定界是宁古塔败归说的影响减弱的重要契机。定界结果,朝鲜不但得到长白山天池以南的空旷地,而且在界碑中明文规定“西为鸭绿,东为土门”,从此,朝鲜获得了领土上的安全感。定界后,朝鲜对清的敌意明显减弱,突出表现在对皇帝的评价上。过去使臣别单和译官手本称:胡皇“骄淫日甚”,“出游无度”,以后则称:“清皇节俭惜财,取民有制”。“皇帝虽喜盘游,而独无虐民之事”^[23]。此次定界还消除了朝鲜对清朝查界的疑虑,使“宁古塔败归说”的影响大大减弱。

与此同时,随着地理情报的搜集和地理知识的增进,经过朝鲜内地的宁古塔败归说一再受到质疑。继肃宗时期的相臣南九万之后,英祖时期的承旨李日跻,利用所掌握的地理知识,否定了清朝败归时会通过朝鲜境内。1731年(雍正9),李日跻出使北京后向国王报告:假令清人因而归巢,也不会舍弃鸟喇易知之道,而涉他境素昧之地。他还指出,清朝关外流民聚党采猎,“万一中原有事,则丽末红巾,可为前车”^[24]。李日跻更看重沿江屯聚的关内乱民趁中原内乱时涌入朝鲜造成骚乱,他是最早关注鸭绿江沿岸地区的关内流民动向的朝臣之一。但是,在骨子里,李日跻仍没有克服清朝败归说的影响。

二 朝鲜英祖时期(1724—1776)对蒙古的防御 措施和对清认识的转变

英祖上台后,最大的忧虑莫过于蒙古准噶尔部再度叛乱。康熙30年代,清朝平定噶尔丹叛乱后中国西北部相对平安,但是,康熙末雍正初,以策妄阿拉布坦为首的准噶尔部逐渐强大起来,1714年(康熙53)“以兵二千,掠哈蜜”,1716年(康熙55)又进兵西藏,企图吞并西藏^[25]。

为了解战况,朝鲜通过各种途径搜集情报,清朝官方文书是最重要的情报,朝鲜译官通过贿赂礼部、兵部序班,搜集了包括四川总督年羹尧的奏文在内的文书。同时,为了证实这些文书的真实与否,朝鲜使臣一路探听消息,从西征回来的八旗兵那里,从清朝迎送官那里,甚至从路上偶遇的吴三桂老部下那里,打听蒙古叛乱和清军战况消息^[26]。

蒙古的地理位置是朝鲜十分关心的,1736年(英祖11),朝鲜使臣在北京购得地图,了解

到蒙古的地理范围非常广,位于辽东北边及宁古塔后,“医巫闾山后的大漠之地,皆是蒙古所居”,且蒙古分为四十八旗^[27]。另外,这一时期制作的朝鲜关防地图,如 1750—1751 年“海东地图”之“辽蓟关防图”,18 世纪中期的“西北彼我两界万里一览图”及“西北疆界图”,都注有“蒙古四十八部中东北诸种最强盛”,以及大鼻鞑子(俄罗斯)的位置等文字信息^[28],表明朝鲜对蒙古和俄罗斯动向的关注。

为了在危机时刻便于同蒙古勾通,一些朝臣建议加强司译院的蒙语教育,1732 年(雍正 10)2 月,持平南泰良上疏:

今胡运之穷,不十数年可决。而蒙古强盛,异时吞并,必至之理也。迺来译院蒙语承讹袭谬,转失本真,使他日危机交迫,而专对之臣文字不通,译舌之辈言语乖异,则国家之患必当在此,宜及时变通。^[29]

1736 年(乾隆 1),出使北京的译官与蒙古使者接触,矫正错误的蒙语发音,他们还在北京购得“清蒙文鉴”。第二年,司译院设置“蒙学聪敏厅”教习蒙语,在杂科中还增加了蒙语考试^[30]。

与此同时,朝鲜在靠近清朝边界的平安、咸镜两道采取了一系列关防措施。英祖时期,政治上实行荡平策,使党争受到抑制,王权得以强化,因此,在经营关防时不会受到太大的牵制,加之,派往朝鲜的清使越来越少,不再顾虑“有烦听闻”,可以放手经营关防。1733 年(雍正 11)朝鲜修筑平壤中城,1744 年(乾隆 9)筑江都外城^[31]。1747 年(乾隆 12),据平安监司报告:“丙子后逼于虏人不能筑城,康熙以后,稍稍筑之,今则在要害处几尽筑城”^[32]。另外,朝鲜吸取丁卯、丙子时以山城为主的防御体系的弊端,重视在贼路(贼侵路线)要冲——岭隘设置关防,以便在沿途打击敌锋。英祖时期,沿鸭绿江边形成江边把守、烟台→沿边镇堡→岭路、隘口的关防设施→内地镇堡等关防体系^[33]。图们江边虽不如鸭绿江边那样完备,也形成把守、烟台→沿边镇堡→内地故城堡等关防体系。朝鲜还注意调整烽燧路线,在靠近图们江边的会宁修筑云头山城^[34]。

18 世纪初以后,清朝平定准噶尔部叛乱,国内形势稳定,特别是乾隆年间社会经济、文化呈现出前所未有的繁荣景象,朝鲜对清朝的看法发生了变化。1738 年(乾隆 3),曾以副使身份出使北京的领议政李光佐指出:“清人虽是胡种,凡事极为文明,典章文翰,皆如皇明时,但国俗之简易稍异。”李光佐承认清朝的典章制度与明朝无甚区别,这是朝鲜克服视清朝为夷狄的华夷观的重要一步。他还指出,“蒙古雄悍,过于女真,若入中原,则待我之道,必不如清人。”即不希望蒙古代替清朝,承认清朝待朝鲜相当宽容。左议政宋寅明也表示:“清主立法简易,民似无怨,不必促亡。”^[35]表明,朝鲜对清朝在中原的统治能力有了信心。

另外,朝鲜对清朝的宽容越发有了自信。1754 年(乾隆 19)7 月,沈阳问安使俞拓基回国后向国王表示:“彼(指清朝)或问大报坛事,则虽以前难忘之恩对之,彼亦必不以为非

也。”对此,国王(英祖)表示赞同^[36]。1705年(康熙44)在昌德宫后苑设立的大报坛,最初是为了纪念1592—1598年出兵援助朝鲜的明神宗和明朝最后一位皇帝崇祯帝而设的^[37],它既是朝鲜尊明大义的象征,也是反清意识的标志。自大报坛设立之日起,朝鲜一直担心传入清朝,到了乾隆年间,清朝皇帝祭奠明皇陵的做法,终于使朝鲜如释重负。

18世纪40年代以后,朝鲜使臣回国后不断地赞誉清朝皇帝,如使臣别单和译官手本称,皇帝“行宽大之政”,称颂其为“英主”^[38]。另外,对清朝开疆拓土也给予高度评价,1760年(乾隆25)冬至使别单记载,清朝在“平准噶回子以后,开拓土地,列置郡县者甚多”,“土宇之恢拓,信汉唐宋所未有也。”^[39]

三 朝鲜正祖时期(1776—1800)对清危机意识的克服及其原因

正祖(1776—1800)上台后,朝鲜的风气焕然一新,维系了一百多年的华夷观越发显得不合时宜,对清朝的看法和态度发生了质的变化,这首先得益于年轻君主正祖的开明态度。正祖虽然仍强调尊明大义,但是,他与时俱进,认识到清朝经济、文化的高度繁荣和朝鲜的相对落后,注意倾听北学派的进言,以开放的姿态吸纳清朝的先进文化和技术。

正祖时期,对清危机意识的克服,首先表现在使臣别单和译官手本中不再出现清朝危亡之兆的字句,即使清朝有内乱,如白莲教起义,或者有西征、南征之事,或者贪官腐败等内政方面的弊端,使臣都进行客观的描述,表明朝鲜以平和的心态和客观的态度看待清朝。

其次,正祖所关心的不再是清朝有无危亡之兆,更不会像前代国王英祖那样慨叹中原无“河清之报”^[40]。正祖所关心的是清朝的城郭濠池之制、市肆之制、漕输之制,以及《四库全书》等文化事业^[41]。“利用厚生”之制是正祖最为关心的,加以即时的推广。北学派代表人物洪良浩于1783年(乾隆48)3月从北京回来后,向国王汇报沈阳和北京一带正在使用水车灌溉,国王当即命令工匠造出十台,分送八道和两都推行。不久,洪良浩上疏系统地介绍了清朝的车制、斡法、牧驴羊等利用厚生之制^[42]。正是由于正祖对清朝文物制度和先进技术的开放态度,北学运动才会在18世纪后期蓬勃兴起。

再次,对清危机意识的克服还表现在向来视为边防重地的西北两道,成为与内地无甚区别的国土的重要部分,得到了全面的开发。1793年(乾隆58),作为天险一直处于未开发状态的废四郡许民开垦入住,1796年(嘉庆1),复设了厚州金使镇^[43]。

18世纪后期,朝鲜最终克服对清危机意识,有多方面的原因。除了正祖对清朝先进文化和制度的开明态度以外,随着时间的流逝,丁卯、丙子之役所造成的民族仇恨和耻辱感逐渐淡化掉,对清敌意和反清意识逐渐减弱,这是对清危机意识得以克服的重要前提。再者,乾隆年间清朝国内局势稳定,经济、文化高度繁荣,特别是经过康雍乾三代不懈地开疆拓土,

清朝的疆域空前广阔,朝鲜认识到清朝不会促亡,所谓“夷无百年之运”显得不合时宜。

更重要的是,清朝历代对朝鲜的宽容政策,逐渐打消了朝鲜的敌意,使朝鲜最终克服对清危机意识。入关后,清朝对朝鲜的政策逐渐宽容,三藩之乱是检验朝鲜忠诚度的试金石,叛乱平定以后,清朝对朝鲜的信任感增强,对朝鲜的政策更加宽容。康雍乾三代,无论是在贡物数量、边务问题,还是在世子册封、史事辨诬(仁祖反正)等方面,尽量满足朝鲜的要求。乾隆帝对朝鲜的宽容与友善更加特别,在北京、沈阳,还是在热河行宫,乾隆帝在接见朝鲜使臣时,多次问候国王是否平安^[44],还特别礼遇朝鲜使臣,1794 年(乾隆 59),在北京皇宫举行的年终宴和年初宴上,不但召见朝鲜使臣,还亲自赐酒给使臣喝^[45]。与之相呼应,朝鲜正祖对事大礼节也是尽心尽意,他曾亲自动手检查使行贡包,查看贡品有无质量问题^[46]。以上表明,清朝的宽容态度和大国风范,换来的是朝鲜的友善与信任。

朝鲜最终克服对清敌意和危机意识,是北学运动得以兴起的思想基础,而北学运动的兴起,促进了中朝两国深层次的文化交流,特别是加速了朝鲜向清朝学习的步伐,使正祖时期成为朝鲜文化最灿烂的时期。

四 小 结

朝鲜对清的危机意识产生于三藩之乱期间,康熙 30 年代蒙古准噶尔部叛乱时加重,它既是朝鲜对清朝国内形势不安所做出的反应,又与朝鲜国内政治密切相关。南人派领袖、领议政许积强调清朝败归时贻弊朝鲜,是为了趁机掌握军权和牵制西人派,国王肃宗强调宁古塔败归的危险性,是为了在经营保障地时牵制臣下。康熙 51 年长白山定界以后,朝鲜对清朝查界的疑虑消除,随之,“宁古塔败归说”的影响减弱。

朝鲜对清的危机意识既表现为“宁古塔败归说”,也表现为对蒙古准部叛乱的防御意识。康熙末雍正初策旺阿拉布坦叛乱时期,朝鲜的防御意识加强,由于清朝对朝鲜的监督力度减弱,朝鲜得以在西北地区放手经营关防,从鸭绿江、图们江沿岸到内地,形成把守、烟台→沿边镇堡→岭路、隘口的关防设施→内地镇堡等较完备的关防体系。

朝鲜对清的危机意识恰恰存在于清朝最为繁盛的康乾盛世,不能不令人深思。显然,它不是由于清朝国内形势危急,也不是对清朝国内形势的误判,而主要是由于朝鲜根深蒂固的华夷观,是朝鲜吸取丙子(1636 年)下城的沉痛教训,讲求阴雨之备和自强之策的结果。

18 世纪后期,朝鲜克服对清危机意识有多方面的原因,主观上,随着时间的流逝,丁卯(1627 年)、丙子之役造成的民族仇恨和敌意逐渐淡薄;开明君主正祖积极吸纳清朝的先进文化和制度,北学运动兴起。客观上,经过康雍乾三代不懈的努力,清朝疆域空前辽阔,国力强盛,朝鲜对清朝在中原的统治能力充满信心;清朝历代对朝鲜的宽容政策和所表现出的大

国风范,逐渐软化了朝鲜的敌意,使朝鲜最终克服对清危机意识。

朝鲜对清敌意和危机意识的克服,是北学运动兴起的思想基础,而北学运动的兴起,促进了中朝双方深层次的文化交流,特别是加速了朝鲜向清朝学习的步伐,这不但对朝鲜的社会经济、文化发展有利,而且对维护以清朝为中心的天下秩序,朝着和平、稳定的方向迈进,具有积极的意义。

注 释

- [1] 王政尧:“十八世纪朝鲜‘利用厚生’学说与清代中国——〈热河日记〉研究之一”,《清史研究》1999年3期;陈尚胜等《朝鲜王朝(1392—1910)对华观的演变》,山东大学出版社,1999年;白新良主编《中朝关系史—明清时期》,世界知识出版社,2002年,第302—344页。
- [2] 李花子“康熙年间中朝查界交涉与长白山定界”,《欧亚学刊》第五辑,2005年;李花子“清代中朝围绕关内流民在鸭绿江地区活动的交涉”,陈尚胜主编《登州港与中韩交流国际学术讨论会论文集》,山东大学出版社,2005年。
- [3] 《朝鲜显宗实录》显宗十五年三月丙寅。以下《朝鲜王朝实录》均引自吴晗编《朝鲜王朝实录抄中国史料》,韩国景仁文化社,1982年。
- [4] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗即位年十一月壬午。
- [5] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗元年三月癸亥。
- [6] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗元年四月戊戌。
- [7] 朝鲜本为八道,许积在此称五道体察使,是担心朝鲜加强军防的消息传入清朝,而将靠近清朝边界的平安、咸镜、黄海三道去掉。因为根据南汉山城盟约,朝鲜是不许修筑新旧城垣和修治军器的。(参见《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗元年十二月戊辰)。
- [8] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗即位年十月戊戌、四年九月庚戌、五年九月癸卯、五年十二月辛未。
- [9] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗六年三月甲午。
- [10] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗元年十二月辛巳。
- [11] 参见韩永恩:《The Review Korean History》,经世苑,1998年,第332页。
- [12] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗十四年四月甲辰。
- [13] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗十六年正月乙未。
- [14] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗十六年七月壬寅。
- [15] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗十六年十二月庚午;十八年五月乙丑。
- [16] 韩永恩前引书,第333—334页。
- [17] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗十八年十一月丙寅、己卯。
- [18] 1697年(康熙36)南九万上简,回忆壬申查界时朝鲜人心骚动的情景(参见《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗二十三年五月丁酉)。
- [19] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗十七年十一月丁卯。

- [20] 1711 年(康熙 50)清朝礼部咨文通告朝鲜要注意海贼,朝鲜回答:“关防守备另加修缮”,即朝鲜以防海贼为借口,第二年修筑了北汉山城。
- [21] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗十七年二月乙未、三月甲辰。
- [22] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗十九年三月庚午。
- [23] 《朝鲜肃宗实录》肃宗三十九年三月丁未、四十年三月戊辰。
- [24] 《朝鲜英祖实录》英祖十一年五月乙丑。
- [25] 参见戴逸主编《简明清史》下,人民出版社,2004 年,第 158—164 页。
- [26] 参见《同文汇考》补编卷三一五,使臣别单:康熙五十九年冬至使别单、康熙六十年别贡咨官手本、雍正二年谢恩兼陈贺使闻见事件、雍正三年别贡咨官手本、雍正五年别贡咨官手本、雍正九年谢恩兼冬至使闻见事件、雍正十年谢恩兼陈贺使闻见事件、雍正十三年进香使闻见事件。以下《同文汇考》均引自韩国国史编纂委员会 1978 年影印本。
- [27] 《承政院日记》卷 801,英祖十一年五月二十六日,转引自裴祐晟:《朝鲜后期国土观与天下观的变化》,一志社,1998 年,第 129 页。
- [28] 参见裴祐晟前引书,第 83—93 页。
- [29] 《朝鲜英祖实录》英祖八年二月辛丑。
- [30] 《朝鲜英祖实录》英祖十三年五月辛丑。
- [31] 韩永恩前引书,第 337 页。
- [32] 《朝鲜英祖实录》英祖二十三年五月丁未。
- [33] 车勇杰“两江地区的国防体制研究试论——以 18 世纪以后的镇堡和江滩把守的分布为中心”,《军史》创刊号,1980 年 12 月,第 110—128 页。
- [34] 参见裴祐晟前引书,第 106—110 页。
- [35] 《朝鲜英祖实录》英祖十四年二月丙申。
- [36] 《朝鲜英祖实录》英祖三十年年七月己丑。
- [37] 英祖时期大报坛祭祀,增加了明太祖朱元璋。
- [38] 《朝鲜英祖实录》英祖十五年七月壬戌;《朝鲜正祖实录》正祖二年七月己丑。
- [39] 《同文汇考》补编卷五,使臣别单,第 39—40 页,乾隆二十五年冬至使别单。
- [40] 英祖时常对蒙古强盛表示担忧,在他看来,一旦蒙古代替清朝统治中原,是以一个夷狄代替另一个夷狄,故慨叹中原无“河清之报”,即以黄河之水未清,比喻中原仍由夷狄控制,这是华夷观的典型表现。
- [41] 《朝鲜正祖实录》正祖元年二月庚申,四年十一月辛丑。
- [42] 《朝鲜正祖实录》正祖七年七月癸巳、丁未。
- [43] 《朝鲜正祖实录》正祖十七年二月辛巳,二十年十一月庚申,转引自姜锡和:《朝鲜后期威镜道与北方领土意识》经世苑,2000 年,第 154、156 页。
- [44] 《朝鲜正祖实录》正祖二年八月癸未,四年九月壬辰,五年二月庚戌,十八年二月庚辰。
- [45] 《朝鲜正祖实录》正祖十八年二月庚辰。(转引自陈尚胜等著:《朝鲜王朝(1392—1910)对华观的

演变》，山东大学出版社，1999年，第352页）

[46]《弘斋全书》卷五“赆端撰李福源充上价赴沈阳”，转引自郑玉子《朝鲜中华思想研究》，一志社，1998年，第120页。



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